

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &
Professional Papers

Graduate School

2004

Prison voices: Lessons on youth recidivism

Shad E. Bailey

The University of Montana

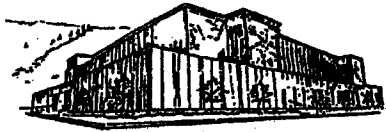
Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Bailey, Shad E., "Prison voices: Lessons on youth recidivism" (2004). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 9490.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/9490>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.



**Maureen and Mike
MANSFIELD LIBRARY**

The University of
Montana

Permission is granted by the author to reproduce this material in its entirety, provided that this material is used for scholarly purposes and is properly cited in published works and reports.

****Please check "Yes" or "No" and provide signature****

Yes, I grant permission

Yes

No, I do not grant permission

Author's Signature: Shad Bailey, Ph.D., Ed.D.

Date: 5-26-04

Any copying for commercial purposes or financial gain may be undertaken only with the author's explicit consent.

Prison Voices: Lessons on Youth Recidivism

by

Shad Bailey

B.Mus., The University of Montana, 1968

M.Mus., The University of Montana, 1970

Ph.D., The University of Arizona, 1986

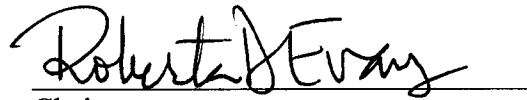
for the degree of

Doctor of Education

The University of Montana

2004

Approved by:



Chairperson



Dean, Graduate School

6.1.04

Date

UMI Number: 3133622

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3133622

Copyright 2004 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ABSTRACT

Bailey, Shad E. Ph.D., Ed.D., May 2004

Educational Leadership

Prison Voices: Lessons on Youth Recidivism

Director: Roberta D. Evans, Ed.D. *RDE*

This qualitative study examined the experiences of home, school, and community by incarcerated males at Montana State Prison, a maximum-security prison in Deer Lodge, Montana. These perceptions were examined using qualitative data techniques to gain new insight regarding how the experiences of inmates can influence the approaches taken with children today.

A purposefully selected sample of 30 volunteers was subjected to a taped interview at the prison. An interview protocol inquiring about experiences in school, home, and community were used to refine extant grounded theories. The data were transcribed and submitted to analysis following the prescription of Strauss and Corbin (1998).

The processes of open, axial and selective coding resulted in eight distinct categories of data, including: (a) Early Trauma, (b) Skipping School, (c) Number of Schools Attended, (d) Teacher Attributes, and (e) Suggestions for Teachers. The following conclusions were delineated:

1. Prisoners reveal early trauma to have a profound impact on the future successes of children. The ability to complete schoolwork, establish positive friendships, and feel a sense of self-worth is associated in part on either the absence of early trauma or the ability of caregivers to provide necessary counseling to assure the impact of early trauma is negated.
2. Prisoners believe the prevention of the use of drugs and alcohol is critical to the health and well being of young people, as well as criminality deterrence.
3. Prisoners feel adolescents who have not yet been incarcerated but who exhibit such patterns need intervention and whole-family counseling.
4. Prisoners recognize that many first-time mothers need parenting information and help. Indeed, instructional "welcoming" visits to new mothers would be highly beneficial.
5. Prisoners believe educators' ability to recognize family neglect and abuse in children, then to work aggressively to address diverse needs would go a long way toward ameliorating youth recidivism in the juvenile justice system.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the men from the maximum security Montana State Prison who volunteered to take part in this study. They spoke with eloquence, truthfulness, sadness, and at times with a twinkle in their eye. They volunteered because they are concerned about today's youth – their grandchildren, their children and their children's friends. They want nothing more than to help assure we put measures into place to give youth the help they need to lead healthy, happy and productive lives. Without the support of the warden, Mike Mahoney, and administrators of the Intensive Therapy Unit, Sandy Heaton and Ginger Faber, this project would not have begun; without the help and support of the therapists, Patrick Brenton, Linda Nichols, and Myles Finlay, this project would have little chance of completion.

The same indebtedness goes to Dr. Roberta Evans, dissertation chair, who never discounted my ideas no matter how "out of the realm of possibility" they may at first have appeared. Bobbie gave me some free rein to explore this idea and it changed my life. She did exactly what the program is designed to do: open up possibilities. Thanks also to Dr. Francee O'Reilly, member of the dissertation committee, who lent her support all the way and doggedly kept me within the confines of APA V. I would like to acknowledge the remaining members: Dr. Darrell Stolle whose guidance on early trauma is insightful; Dr. Merle Farrier, who speaks so eloquently on the value of human dignity, and Dr. Bill McCaw, without whom it would be difficult to wander through the maze of doctoral studies with success.

Finally, were it not for my husband, Robert, and son, Todd, I would not have traveled the path to The University of Montana one more time. They often shake their heads and wonder about my seemingly "whacky" ideas but once they realize it's time to "damn the torpedoes," they give me the love and support without which I could not succeed.

The Educational Leadership Cohort program allows its participants to go in many directions. It is with the blessing of the doctoral dissertation committee that I will not stop this investigation with the completion of the program. They understand the importance of this research and know it must continue. Their future support is hoped for; their past support is valued. Where the research leads is impossible to predict. That's what makes my participation in the cohort program in the School of Education at The University of Montana such a special part of my life – it has special people and it is a special place. I may stumble but there'll be a helping hand. I may succeed and together we'll celebrate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	5
Purpose of the Study	6
Leadership Connection.....	6
Research Questions	7
Definition of Terms.....	8
Delimitations of the Study.....	9
Limitations of the Study	10
Significance of the Study	10
CHAPTER TWO	13
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	13
Temperament	13
Child Trauma and Abuse.....	17
Other Early Childhood Issues	23
Language	28
Prevention, Intervention and Parenting Issues.....	30

Youth with Disabilities in Juvenile Justice.....	46
Prediction	55
Truancy and Mobility	60
Youth Crime, Adult Time.....	65
Dangers of Incarcerating Youth With Adult Inmates.....	66
Correctional Education.....	68
Teacher Attributes.....	75
Aftercare	76
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention	82
Related Costs of Treatment Program	84
Summary.....	92
CHAPTER THREE.....	94
METHODS AND PROCEDURES	94
Research Design.....	94
Research Questions	95
Central Question.....	96
Sub-questions and Interview Questions.....	96
Participants	102
Interview Protocol Procedure	103
Data Collection	104

Data Analysis	105
Role of the Researcher	106
Summary	107
CHAPTER FOUR	108
FINDINGS FROM THE QUALITATIVE INQUIRY	108
Open Coding	113
Early Trauma	113
Abandonment	114
Sexual Abuse	118
Alcohol and Drug Use by Parents	120
Skiping School	125
Grades 1 through 4	126
Grades 5 through 8	127
Grades 9 through 12	130
Mobility Factors	132
Same school district	133
Two – Three settings	135
Four settings	137
Five or more settings	137
Teacher Attributes	140
Personal Positive	142
General Positive	143

Personal Negative.....	145
General Negative.....	147
Suggestions.....	148
Instruction.....	149
Counseling	152
Warning Signs.....	153
Facilities.....	156
Axial Coding.....	157
Axial Coding Process.....	159
Phenomenon: Early Trauma	160
Phenomenon: Skipping School.....	162
Phenomenon: Number of Schools Attended.....	166
Phenomenon: Teacher Attributes.....	170
Phenomenon: Suggestions for Teachers.....	175
Selective Coding	179
Summary	190
CHAPTER FIVE	192
INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	192
Introduction	192
Summary.....	193
General Implications of the Findings.....	199

Funding for Alternative Housing for Youth.....	199
Breaking the Generational Cycle	200
Well Family Hospital Programs.....	201
Teacher Education.....	201
Recommendations.....	202
Recommendations for Practitioners	202
Recommendations for Future Studies	210
Endnote.....	212
REFERENCES.....	213
APPENDICES.....	233
Appendix A	234
Appendix B	236
Appendix C	238
Appendix D	240
Appendix E.....	242

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Views on Temperament	14
2. Sentencing Disparities Between White and African American Youth.....	67
3. Subject Information	112
4. Properties and Dimensional Range: Early Trauma	114
5. Skipping School.....	126
6. Mobility Factors	132
7. Teacher Attributes	141
8. Suggestions.....	149
9. Axial Coding Process.....	159
10. Causal Condition and Phenomena	159
11. Phenomena: Early Trauma	160
12. Phenomena: Skipping School.....	163
13. Phenomena: Number of Schools Attended	166
14. Phenomena: Teacher Attributes	171
15. Phenomena: Suggestions for Teachers	175

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In 1998, young people under the age of 18 comprised approximately 19% of the population but were responsible for 29% of criminal arrests (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998). While offenses by the adult population increased by only 3.8% during the period from 1989 to 1998, offenses committed by children and adolescents rose 24% during this same period (FBI, 1998). Further, the trend has moved toward violent offending. FBI records (2000) showed property crimes for the “18 and under” age group diminished by 12% but violent crimes rose 15%, compared to a 3% increase in violent offending for the adult population.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention’s *Child Delinquency Bulletin* (Loeber, Farrington & Petechuk, 2003) suggests three possible precursors to delinquency including low attachment to caregivers, language development delay, and temperament. First, the closer the child is to the mother, the less likely the child will exhibit at-risk behaviors. Next, the lack of early language skills found in many boys contributes to lower or delayed capacity of social problem solving so important to young children. This leads to heightened levels of hyperactivity and hostile aggression for those young boys who do not recover from an early deficit. Prior, Oberklaid, Sanson, and Smart (1993) asserted these views in *Sex Differences in Psychological Adjustment from Infancy to Eight Years*.

Temperament, the third precursor to delinquency named by Loeber, et al. (2003), is extensively researched. Thomas and Chess, members of the panel in *Roundtable: What is Temperament?* (Goldsmith, Buss, Chess, Plomin & Rothbart,

with commentaries by Hinde & McCall, 1987), suggested temperament is how one does things rather than what one does. Temperament can, however, be modified by environmental influences.

Earls and Jung (1987) asserted that by age three, marital discord was shown to have a significant effect on both internalizing and externalizing scales for boys. Marital discord did not have the same effect on young girls of a similar age. Adams, Hillman and Gaydos (1994) studied 238 toddlers and found social risk conditions (poverty, single-parent family, living in crime ridden neighborhoods) place a preschooler at greater risk for later behavioral problems no matter whether the social risk conditions are associated with biological considerations or not.

Stanton Samenow (*Inside the Criminal Mind*, 1984) focused on the effects of temperament. In discussing learning disabilities as the supposed root of behavior problems, Samenow suggested,

Many criminals who appear learning disabled are highly capable of learning but simply chose not to because school was incompatible with what they wanted to do. They may not learn what parents and teachers want them to learn, but they do utilize the past as a guide when it matters to them. They learn how to become more successful criminals (p. 19).

Samenow acknowledged temperament's role, in part, as to why siblings growing up in the same environment may follow vastly different life courses.

Keenan and Wakschlag (2000) identified another precursor to at-risk behaviors as a group of disorders including conduct disorder (CD), oppositional defiant disorder (ODD), and attention deficit with hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). In

More than the Terrible Twos: The Nature and Severity of Behavior Problems in Clinic-Referred Preschool Children, Keenan, et al. (2000) found nearly half, in a group of minority clinic-referred preschoolers, met the criteria for conduct disorder and three-quarters met criteria for oppositional defiant disorder. The tool used in the study was the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th edition (DSM-IV, American Psychiatric Association, 1994). The age of the subjects prompted researchers to compare their findings with parent reports using the Child Behaviour Check List (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) and to call for longitudinal studies to test the stability and predictability of early onset disruptive behavior. Of concomitant concern to researchers was the important socialization and developmentally appropriate activities missed in the lives of young conduct disorder and oppositional defiant disorder children because of their behavior.

Mental health issues, many having gone undiagnosed, constitute a fifth antecedent to delinquency. A December, 2000, joint ASI/AFI (Assembly on State Issues/Assembly on Federal Issues) meeting in Washington, D.C., found that,

One-half to two-thirds of all children entering foster care exhibit behaviors that warrant mental health services, and serious behavioral and emotional problems are increasing. A high percentage of youth in the juvenile justice system have a diagnosable mental disorder and at least one in five has a serious mental health problem. (p. 1)

Casey and Keilitz (1990) estimated the prevalence of undiagnosed mental health issues as high as 35.6% in this population. Mental health concerns are supported by a set of seven monographs (2002) written as a joint project of the Center for Effective

Collaboration and Practice, and The National Center on Education, Disability and Juvenile Justice (EDJJ). Osher, Quinn, Kendziora and Woodruff (2002), authors of the first monograph of the series, revealed that a student with disabilities is more likely to be taken into custody because their disabilities preclude their ability to behave appropriately to law enforcement. Further, the service providers within the juvenile justice system lack the requisite training or experience to respond appropriately to children with disabilities. Two other studies, DeMilio (1989) and Lexcen and Redding (1999), support these findings.

Once precursors are met, young at-risk youth would be fortunate to find themselves in a Juvenile Assessment Center (JAC). Juvenile Assessment Centers are part of the lifework of Richard Dembo, professor of criminology at The University of South Florida. Dr. Dembo has spent a lifetime studying youth crime and using his knowledge to help design early intervention programs to improve the odds that at least some who seem enmeshed in the juvenile court system will never enter prison gates. The Florida Juvenile Assessment Centers (JAC, 1993) are illustrative of his work. The JAC Comprehensive Information System consists of three parts: a) preliminary screening data, b) in-depth assessment data, and c) referral and referral outcome data. The tool to detect problem areas in one or more of ten psychosocial function areas is the Problem Oriented Screening Instrument for Teenagers (POSIT) (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 1991). POSIT looks at substance use/abuse, physical health status, mental health status, family relationships, peer relations, educational status, vocational status, social skills, leisure and recreation, and aggressive behavior and delinquency. McLaney, Del Boca and Babor (1992) have

indicated a predictive validity of POSIT. The success of the JAC program in Florida is being replicated in similar programs in cities from Florida to Maryland.

Treatment intervention programs like those developed by Dr. Dembo require funding. Cohen (1998) wrote extensively about the monetary cost of incarceration. He estimated a life of crime through both juvenile and adult careers at a cost of between \$1.7 to \$2.3 million. The figure is broken down into tangible victim costs (25%), lost quality of life (50%), criminal justice costs (20%), and offender productivity losses (5%). The cost not included in either the Cohen or Rajkumar and French (1997) studies is the toll imprisonment exacts from an inmate's family. Some are fiscal costs; others are heavy emotional tolls.

The costs of \$1.7 to \$2.3 million dollars to provide lifetime care from juvenile through adult prison facilities seems to fall on deaf ears of those who fund the State Department of Corrections. Loeber, Farrington, and Petechuk (2003) write in the *Child Delinquency Bulletin Series* about intervention programs that help reduce the incidence of delinquency. They asserted the earlier the first incident of juvenile deviant behavior, the more predictable is adult criminality. Early intervention is cost effective.

Statement of the Problem

There is an interruption of education when at-risk youth behaviors require judicial resolution. The continuity of instruction is lost as oftentimes other matters including restitution, probation, and incarceration at a youth facility take priority. Society is losing bright young minds that might have become leaders in research,

business, art or music. When at-risk youth act out in school classrooms, it affects the classroom environment for all students.

There are antecedents to at-risk behaviors including low attachment to caregivers, delayed language development, temperament not conducive to societal expectations, behavior disorders, learning disabilities, and undiagnosed mental health issues. It would be judicious to compare the cost of appropriate treatment to the \$1.7 to \$2.3 million-dollar price tag that Cohen (1998) estimated for a life of crime.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the perceived value of interventions and potential interventions with youth offenders from the perspectives of incarcerated male adults in the Montana State Prison. Their reflections and critical analyses of programs and efforts aimed at high-risk youth similar to them will provide invaluable insight for schools and communities in providing intervention programs with greater success levels.

Leadership Connection

Leadership is found in a variety of guises. The connection in this study is for the researcher to discover ways to lead others in an understanding of what can be learned from the inmate interviews when applied to today's youth. We can no longer assume all parents will be effective leaders in their child's education nor can we assume all teachers and administrators will grasp the imperative to understand the needs of the growing number of students who do not fit any preconceived educational mold. The voices of prisoners contain wisdom. They understand teaching modalities that would have been more effective for them; they know the attributes of teachers

that worked for them (and would work for others like them). The researcher in this study listens to the voices, translates them into a working dialog and shares this information with new teachers, administrators, legislators and parents. Without this leadership action, the adage, “learning from experience” will have gone for naught.

Research Questions

Creswell (1998) recommends a researcher “reduce her or his entire study to a single, overarching question and several sub-questions” (p. 99). The sub-questions typically follow the central question and may be topical sub-questions or a description of topics to be covered (Creswell, 1998). This qualitative study will be guided by the following central question and topical sub-questions:

1. What suggestions or ideas do inmates at Montana State Prison have regarding ways schools, homes and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest?

Sub-questions to be used in support of the central question include:

1. What new or continuing issues relating to their educational experience do inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history?
2. What new or continuing issues relating to other non-educational experiences in their lives do inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history?
3. What factors in their adjudication history emerge from inmates’ perspective as the most prominent?

These questions are pertinent to the development of a qualitative study (grounded theory) designed to explain the importance of the contribution of ideas from inmates at Montana State Prison as to how schools, communities and parents can address the needs of children at risk of behavior for which they may be adjudicated.

Definitions of Terms

For the purpose of this study and the analysis of the literature found in Chapter Two, the following terms are defined:

Aftercare. “Reintegrative services that prepare out-of-home placed juveniles for reentry into the community by establishing the necessary collaborative arrangements with the community to ensure the delivery of prescribed services and supervision” (Altschuler & Armstrong, 2001, p. 73). The process does not begin after an offender is released. A comprehensive program begins immediately after sentencing and continues through incarceration and an offender’s release back into the community (Gies, 2003).

At risk youth. *Predictors of Youth Violence* (Hawkins, Brewer, Catalano, Cothorn, Farrington, Harachi, Herrenkohl, 2000) identified five domains associated with at risk youth. They include individual factors (hyperactivity, early imitation of violent behavior), family factors (parental criminality, poor family management practices, parent-child separation), school factors (academic failure, truancy and dropping out of school, frequent school transitions), peer-related factors (delinquent siblings, delinquent peers), and community and neighborhood factors (poverty, availability of drugs and firearms, exposure to violence).

Axial Coding. The process of relating categories to their subcategories, termed “axial” because coding occurs around the axis of a category, linking categories at the level of properties and dimensions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Categories. “Concepts, derived from data, that stand for phenomena. They depict the problems, issues, concerns, and matters that are important to those being studied” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 114).

Child Behavior Check List (CBCL). Items to assess behavioral and emotional problems in children (Achenbach, 1991, 1992).

Grounded Theory. “Theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 12).

Open Coding. The analytical process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Properties. Characteristics of a category, the delineation of which defines and gives it meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101).

Selective Coding. A time when the investigator writes a “story line” from the information gained in the categories from axial coding. Conditional propositions are typically formulated at this time (Creswell, 1998).

Delimitations of the Study

Subjects in the study will be volunteers who will be purposefully selected because it is assumed they will facilitate the expansion of a developing theory (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Those wishing to use results of the study will be cautioned that the findings may not be appropriate to their needs because of the delimitations of choosing these Montana offenders. Any generalizations from this study should be

regarded as tools with which to work from as they are shaped in context (Eisner, 1991).

Limitations of the Study

A potential limitation to the study is the use of semi-structured interviews as the source of data. Interviews have several limitations because they are filtered through the interviewee (Creswell, 1994). It will be difficult to know if the prisoner being interviewed had the same perspective related to the question, as did the researcher. Every attempt will be made to allow subjects to express the topic within their frame of reference. They will be given time to think, process and pose their answers. Another limitation is the possibility of untruthful answers to interview questions. It will be assumed that most prisoners will be truthful but, however, reliance upon that assumption constitutes a limitation.

Significance of the Study

A profusion of studies have been written about plans and programs for adjudicated youth from state agencies and youth advocacy programs. Very little scholarly research has been done studying what impact schools, family, and communities had on the lives of currently imprisoned felons from infancy through adolescence. The men incarcerated in Montana State Prison are a largely untapped primary source of information.

In the third of the seven monographs from the Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice and The National Center on Education, Disability and Juvenile Justice: *Collaboration in the Juvenile Justice System and Youth Serving Agencies: Improving Prevention, Providing More Efficient Services, and Reducing*

Recidivism for Youth with Disabilities (Leone, Quinn, & Osher, 2002) authors outline risk factors for youth with disabilities who have been in the juvenile justice system and the role schools can play in reducing these factors. This study will help ameliorate one factor especially pertinent to schools: lack of early identification and intervention. Interviewees will share early onset of deviant behaviors, what interventions were applied, and how they impacted or did not impact behaviors.

Leone et al. (2002) point to schools as major players in student lives, especially students with disabilities. Knowing that “having a disability puts a student at greater risk for being arrested while enrolled in school than other students (13.3 times for students with emotional disturbance and 3.9 times for students with learning disabilities),” teachers and administrators of special education programs will be informed by this study because of the preponderance of former special education students currently incarcerated (p. 16).

In an earlier unrelated project the author of this study interviewed six incarcerated subjects. Five of the six subjects were in special education and Title I classes for assistance in reading and written language. The sixth was a candidate for an exceptionally gifted program that did not materialize. Like the population in this study, the men in the earlier project volunteered, were part of the Intensive Care Unit for drug and alcohol abuse, and were interested in shedding information from their lives that might help us understand ways we can better assist children today.

For administrators and teachers, this study will provide valuable information about effective teaching remembered by incarcerated offenders. In the earlier study, incarcerated prisoners were adamant about not wanting schools to give up on them.

Once they understand the impact of their ability to intervene and perhaps change the course of a student's life, teachers and administrators may feel compelled to act. For law enforcement personnel, this study will alert them to the perceived effectiveness of early intervention with minors. For parents, this study will provide the impetus to maintain vigilance over the lives of children for whom they are responsible. All these lessons will be gleaned from interviews seeking illustrative anecdotes about pre-incarceration life among those currently imprisoned.

In summary, youth crime has not been eliminated. Violent juvenile crime rates are rising. There are known precursors to at-risk behaviors including low attachment to caregivers, delayed language development, unabated temperament concerns, behavioral and learning disorders, and undiagnosed mental health issues. We know of programs that have reputed successes but they are costly. Incarceration costs from youth through adult, however, exact a far greater fiscal and social toll. Untapped resources of information related to school, home and community programs that did and did not work comes from the thoughts and hearts of male felons at the Montana State Prison.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

The related literature review will take readers through (a) early childhood, (b) prevention, intervention, and parenting (c) youth with disabilities in juvenile court, (d) prediction, (e) truancy and mobility, (f) youth crime, adult time, (g) correctional education (h) teacher attributes (i) aftercare, (j) the work of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP); and the cost of it all. The literature is related to the sub-questions of the study as it looks at issues faced by inmates both in school and non-school settings and in the adjudication process. Early childhood literature is related to the educational experience as temperament, childhood trauma and abuse, other early childhood issues, and language, shape the first, and oftentimes most important, years in the classroom.

Temperament

Temperament is a widely researched and important area of child development, and yet scholars find it difficult to agree on a definition. In *Roundtable: What is Temperament?* (Goldsmith, Buss, Plomin, Rothbart, Thomas & Chess, 1987), McCall, one of the commentators, saw temperamental dimensions as “nearly the entire personality of the newborn” (p. 525). Members of the panel agreed that there is a biological underpinning to temperament and that it has continuity. But, they do not agree on its inheritance, stability or how it relates to emotional behavior. Definitions of temperament and its boundaries as seen by the panel members can best be shown in the following table:

Table 1

Views on Temperament

Author(s)	Views on Temperament
Buss and Plomin (1987)	Temperament is a set of inherited personality traits that appear early in life. There are two defining characteristics: traits are genetic in origin and traits appear in infancy (p. 508).
Thomas and Chess (1987)	Temperament is the stylistic component of behavior – the <i>how</i> of behavior, rather than the <i>why</i> or <i>what</i> . Also, temperament is an independent psychological attribute. It must at all times be differentiated from motivations, abilities and personality and temperament is always expressed as a response to an external stimulus, opportunity, expectation or demand (p. 508).
Rothbart (1987)	Temperament is relatively stable. It is primarily biologically based as individual differences in reactivity and self-regulation. Behaviorally, temperament can be observed at all ages (p.510).
Goldsmith (1987)	Temperament is individual differences in the probability of experiencing and expressing the primary emotions and arousal (p. 511).

Panelists were asked not only “what is temperament” but also what are its elements. Goldsmith (1987) included how one expresses primary emotions of anger, sadness, fear, joy and pleasure, disgust, interest, and surprise. Buss and Plomin (1987) saw three traits including emotionality, activity (tempo and vigor), and sociability. Thomas and Chess (1987) understood temperament as *how* one would respond to an external stimulus, opportunity, expectation or demand. Rothbart (1987) included variables that had a “strong biological base in terms of their heritability” (p.513) or had been identified as “basic dimensions of temperamental variability in infants” (p. 513).

When asked about the importance of temperament to their theories, Rothbart's response could provide an answer to both the first and second sub-questions of this study, if inmates were aware of his work. Those questions concern new and continuing issues relating to educational and non-educational experiences in their lives inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history. Rothbart predicted that individual differences in temperament may be seen at the neurophysiological level that will "bear a specific relation over time to individual differences in behavioral measures" (p. 516). Thomas and Chess (1987) stated that without temperament's considerations, only a partial picture of a child's psychological profile would be possible.

Beyond the definition of temperament, its elements and importance, panelists were asked to give their opinion about how temperament is developed. Rothbart (1987) looked at indicators at two to three months (smiling and laughter, and a decrease of distress from over-stimulation) and from six to ten months (behavioral inhibitions). He concluded that other emotions develop at different times for different children and that inhibitions could last into the third or fourth year. Goldsmith (1987) saw temperament as a set of emotions present in rudimentary form from infancy on. Thomas and Chess (1987) stated, "Once a child is born, temperamental traits intertwine with other psychological attributes, including emotion and cognition, and with the intra- and extra-familial environment" (p. 518). Stability in temperament then becomes a factor of environmental influences. Likewise, Buss and Plomin (1987) saw the development of temperament dependent in large part on environmental issues once infancy is past.

Once temperament is developed, panelists agreed on a “goodness of fit” between one’s environment and temperament. Buss and Plomin (1987) continued with trait theory believing an active person will choose a high-energy situation whereas a sociable person will look to activities with other people. Goldsmith (1987) touched on issues related to the second sub-question in this study – issues related to non-educational experiences. He saw temperament as occurring outside a vacuum with stimuli evoking temperamental responses. He gave the example of a child being shielded from anger-provoking stimuli, stating, “Any temperamental predispositions toward intense anger expression are less likely to be manifested in behavior” (p. 520). In other words, if parents refrain from anger directed at their child, there is less chance that the child will become disposed to respond in anger.

When addressing the concern of temperamental difficulty, Rothbart (1987) looked at it as a matter of perception. A child’s actions may appear incorrigible to one observer and perfectly natural to another. Buss and Plomin (1987) passed the issue on to caregivers by saying children with a difficult temperament are children who are hard to handle. Goldsmith (1987) skirted the issue by pointing out his definition of temperament is at the individual level, not at the social interaction level needed for “difficulty.” McCall’s (Goldsmith et al., 1987) commentary provided the best synthesis of the thoughts of the participants in the roundtable:

Temperament consists of relatively consistent, basic dispositions inherent in the person that underlie and modulate the expression of activity, reactivity, emotionality, and sociability. Major elements of temperament are present early in life, and those elements are likely to be strongly influenced by

biological factors. As development proceeds, the expression of temperament increasingly becomes more influenced by experience and context (p. 524).

McCall concluded by defining temperament as consisting of “dimensions or dispositions that underlie behavior and influence how one person would respond differently than another person to the same environmental situation” (p. 525). This is the crux of the matter of temperament to this study. It may be the key to unlock the important question of why one child is an inmate and the other, from the same family with the same players, becomes successful in society.

Earls and Jung (1987) propose a dual role between temperament and home environment. Temperament may be the initial factor in the development of psychopathology but it is not without environment’s influence once the disorder is set in motion. In their work, *Temperament and Home Environment Characteristics as Causal Factors in the Early Development of Childhood Psychopathology*, Earls and Jung show how the quality of family relationships early in a child’s life can mediate many of the behavior problems associated with deviant temperamental characteristics.

To summarize, temperament is an important element in the development of the infant through toddler and from the toddler through pre-school and school-age child. It is difficult to define, its elements are varied, and its interplay with the environment and later behavior is not clearly understood.

Child Trauma and Abuse

Temperament is, as Rothbart (1987) states, “primarily biologically based as individual differences in reactivity and self-regulation” (p. 510). Child abuse is not biologically based but can have as disastrous an outcome as any serious biologically

based malady. In her law report on *Mandatory Reporting of Child Abuse and Neglect*, Smith (2003) includes “minimum definitions” for child abuse and sexual abuse as outlined by the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (1996). Child abuse or neglect is any recent act or failure to act:

1. Resulting in imminent risk of serious harm, death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation
2. Of a child (usually a person under the age of 18, but a younger child may be specified in cases not involving sexual abuse)
3. By a parent or caretaker who is responsible for the child’s welfare.

Sexual abuse is defined by the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act as:

Employment, use, persuasion, inducement, enticement or coercion of any child to engage in, or assist any other person to engage in, or assist any other person to engage in, any sexually explicit conduct or any simulation of such conduct for the purpose of producing any visual depiction of such conduct; or rape, and in cases of caretaker or inter-familial relationships, statutory rape, molestation, prostitution, or other form of sexual exploitation of children, or incest with children. (p. 2)

Although all fifty states have passed some form of mandatory child abuse and neglect reporting law in order to qualify for funding under the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA, 1996 version), not all abuse is recognized and subsequently reported. In a study by Randolph and Gold (1994) where forty-two teachers were divided into those that participated in a sexual abuse training program and those in a control group, the Department of Social Services reported a

“significant increase” in the number of reports from teachers. The increase was only from those who received training; teachers in the control group made no reports even though the study was done in a state that requires mandatory reporting of suspected cases of child abuse. It was shown that “participant gains in knowledge, ability, and confidence made them more willing to act when confronted with a case of child sexual abuse” (p. 490).

As Randolph et al. (1994) showed, knowledgeable teachers are often at the forefront. Gootman (1996) illustrated how the precepts of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) can be used to help young victims of abuse. The NAEYC stresses the development of communication skills through oral practice and reading and writing. Victims of abuse need to talk about their feelings and accept them before losing all touch with their emotions and becoming a danger to society.

The thinking skills purported by the education community can also be used by abused children to problem solve because it restores in them a sense of power. Likewise, celebrating the element of choice, practiced by NAEYC, can allow the young victim the opportunity to make decisions that are oftentimes left to an abusive adult. Transference of knowing one can gain from making errors is a treasure trove for many abused children, especially those who have been “brutalized for making small mistakes to the point that their fear of making mistakes paralyzes them” (Gootman, 1996, p. 151).

Likewise, the development of large motor skills is a way for all children to let out pent up emotions. It also allows young victims of sexual abuse to regain control

of their body integrity. Finally, the art of negotiating and talking with someone with whom you have an interpersonal problem is sometimes ignored in an abusive home. It may take considerable time to teach a young victim to use verbal conflict resolution but the benefits may be lifesaving.

Gootman (1996) cautions teachers and special education directors that some of the visible signs of learning disabilities are the same as signs of abuse. But, when the external manifestations of abuse are “solved” with a special education class rather than getting at the root of the problem, the mistreatment is not addressed. The minds of children who are closely guarding family secrets are covered with what Donovan and McIntyre (1990) call “cognitive blinders.” Gootman (1996) notes the difficulty children have blocking off the big family secret while trying to open their minds to the wonders of education. Fortunately for children, the secret sometimes gets out. A recent Government Accounting Office report (1997) tells two ways children are brought to the attention of authorities. One, if they have been exposed to drugs in-utero or if they are abused or neglected in toddler or elementary school years and a teacher or daycare provider reports the abuse.

Many have written about the impact of abuse including David Hall, Professor of Community Pediatrics at Children’s Hospital in Sheffield, UK. Hall (1998) sees the impact of abuse as playground violence, bullying, educational failure and exclusion from school or dropping out. He sees violence in the home and antisocial behavior as early as age seven, as being predictors of violent behavior towards partners in both adolescence and early adult life.

Another study done by *Child Trends* linked parental alcoholism to school failure because, as the study purports, these parents are less likely to take an active role in their child's education. They are also more likely to abuse their children due to the effects of alcohol including (a) lowered inhibitions, (b) sharpened aggression, (c) decreased frontal lobe functioning, and (d) disrupted neurochemical functions that mediate aggressive behavior. The legacy left to some children is life long. Those who are born with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) find socialization and academic issues mounting as the school years are approached. Harden and Pihl (1995) concur as they found boys with an extensive history of paternal alcoholism do worse on cognitive tests and have more conduct disorders than do their peers without such a history. He also found differences in frontal lobe activity between children of alcoholic and non-alcoholic parents. Children with alcoholic parents had more difficulty using their working memory and doing simple mathematical tasks found them with elevated heart rates.

There are signs educators can watch for, that indicate abuse issues. To assist daycare providers, teachers and others with whom children may come in contact, Lindgren (1996) suggests three sets of factors that put a child at risk. The first comes from parental characteristics. The second concerns child characteristics, and the third deals with the family's interaction with the larger environment. Lindgren identified parent red flags as, "one who is a strong proponent of corporal punishment and unable to bond with his children; a parent who has low self-esteem, is immature, and self-centered; a parent who believes the father is the all-knowing figure in the family" (p. 2). Child characteristics include some that cannot be changed – they are of the

“wrong” sex, they have a chronic illness or their temperament includes “fussiness” or hyperactivity.

Family issues include (a) economic distress, (b) chemical abuse, (c) social isolation, (d) family size, (e) violence in the family of origin or within an intimate relationship, (f) family structure, and (g) subculture. Low socio-economic status (SES) including the lack of the ability to pay for basic human services; using alcohol and drugs as a panacea for perceived unsolvable family issues; being isolated from the community with few friends and having many children to care for are only part of the problem. A history of violence in the family, violence directed toward a spouse, or living in a subculture that is more tolerant of violent behavior towards children completes this partial list of family connections to child abuse.

Lindgren (1996) includes a list of physical signs of abuse including: being dirty, wearing clothes to conceal injuries, needing medical attention including glasses or dental work, or coming to school without having eaten perhaps since the last school lunch. Behaviorally, children of abuse may appear too anxious to please, or be exceedingly wary. They may seek attention from any adult or avoid physical contact at all cost. They may show no enjoyment in other children or toys, or frequently break or damage something belonging to another child.

Appearance and behavior issues related to sexual abuse are also included in what Lindgren (1996) calls *Child Abuse: A Painful Secret*. Red flags include the child who has torn, stained or bloody underwear or who has a sexually transmitted disease or the child who appears withdrawn, finds it difficult to play with others, doesn't want to engage in physical activity but is engaged in delinquent acts, or

reports a sexual assault – all are what Lindgren sees as indicators of a high risk of sexual abuse. The causes of child abuse are many; the implications are huge. The Children's Defense Fund (1996) revealed that a child is reported abused or neglected every 13 seconds. This is more than 6,646 times each day. These are the reported ones.

Other Early Childhood Issues

In *Early developmental prevention of juvenile delinquency*, David Farrington (1994) addressed the issues of teenage pregnancy, substance abuse during pregnancy and postnatal complications and how they are associated with hyperactivity, impulsivity, low intelligence, and low attainment in the child. He noted, "Any or all of these factors may lead to childhood behavior problems and delinquency and crime" (p. 209). Loeber and Dishion (1983) added to the list of issues that may be associated with later offending including (a) poor parental child management techniques, (b) childhood antisocial behavior, (c) offending by parents and siblings, (d) low intelligence and attainment, and (e) separation from a biological parent.

Teenage mothers may face more than a difficult child. Oftentimes, they are on welfare, they may have little education, no father for the child and few skills in parenting. Without prenatal counseling, some teens inadvertently harm their newborn child by smoking, drinking and drug use. McGee, Silva and Williams (1984) found children who are small at birth for their gestational age significantly tended to be badly behaved at age seven, especially in homes where there were adversities.

Prevention of ill-behaved children because of a poor neonatal start was the goal of a program in 1986 in New York. Olds, Chamberlain, Henderson and

Tatelbaum (1986) described how one group of 400 expectant mothers had home visits from nurses during pregnancy and during the first two years of their child's life. In the prenatal visits expectant mothers were given information about prenatal and postnatal care, infant development, the importance of nutrition for both mother and child, and the importance of refraining from the use of tobacco and alcohol. A control group had no visits. The results from the experimental group included children who were more likely to be delivered full term and who were abused and neglected far less than children in the control group (4% compared to 19%). It is known that children who are abused and neglected often turn to later violent offending (Widom, 1989). This addresses the second and third sub-questions of this study related to non-school issues playing a role in criminal history and prominent factors in adjudication history. In another New York report, (Lally, Honig, & Mangione, 1988) researchers gave a group of expectant mothers information about parenting, nutrition and their baby's welfare. When a child was born, daycare designed to stimulate the intellect was provided until age five. At age three, children in the experimental group were joined by a control group, who were also age three, but who did not have access to daycare. At this age, intelligence of the experimental group was elevated over the control group; at age five intellectual differences were negligible. Ten years later the difference between the groups with reference to juvenile court appearances was striking (2% for the experimental group, 17% for the control group).

Other writers cite the same concern for biological risk factors (Loeber, 1982; Loeber, Farrington, & Petechuk, 2003). *Behavioral difficulties in toddlers: Impact of*

sociocultural and biological risk factors, a later study by Adams, Hillman and Gaydos (1994) reported (a) prematurity, (b) low birth weight, (c) physical illness, and (d) central nervous system injury as risk factors that may lead to developmental delays and behavioral and emotional problems. The important issue broached by these writers is the impact of environmental risk factors once the biological risk factors have been taken into account. The premature, low birth weight baby living in poverty with an uneducated single parent is in peril. As a result of the number of high-risk children who survive to toddler age, the Education of the Handicapped Act (1986) provides a “head start” for physical, social, and intellectual development when these children turn three years of age. Physical therapists, speech pathologists and trained teachers are in the public schools to assist with these physically, socially and intellectually challenged children.

Zigler, Black, and Taussig (1992) looked at four early intervention programs. The first is the inner-city Perry Preschool Project where an experimental group of three- and four-year-old children received a high quality, cognitively oriented, early education for one to two years. A teacher visited the homes of these children to share parenting skills, and to keep parents apprised of their children’s progress. Parents were encouraged to attend monthly meetings where they shared their concerns with other parents. The proof of the program was played out in higher high school graduation rates as 67% of these students graduated compared to 49% of the control group, and in arrest records as there were 20% fewer arrests in the experimental group.

The Syracuse Program described efforts to break the intergenerational connection to crime. Single mothers whose income was low and whose education would not allow her to move up on the economic ladder without great difficulty often headed the families. Families had on-site visits once a week to learn about mother-child relationships, nutrition, and social service contacts that could provide assistance. Once the child reached school age, efforts were made to assure mothers knew key school personnel.

The third program described by Zigler et al. (1992) is the Yale Child Welfare Research Program where efforts were made to help mothers raising children in high-risk environments. Prenatal care and counseling about health issues and nutrition were made available to the participants. Thinking to the future, mothers were counseled about their own education and possible career choices that they could balance with raising a child. Childcare was provided for a period of over two years. After ten years, almost all members of the experimental group were self-supporting. Mothers had fewer children and reported they enjoyed parenting the ones they had and their children expressed affection towards them. There were far fewer instances of delinquency reported with the children whose mothers were in the experimental group.

The last program in the series of four (Zigler et al. 1992) took place in Houston where 100 Mexican-American families with a healthy one-year-old child were assigned to either an experimental or control group. Participants were in low-income brackets and issues related to the mental health of participating families were pertinent. During the first year paraprofessionals visited the homes and informed

parents of some of the stresses they might expect having small children in the house. Parents were given strategies to cope with issues they wished to change. The emphasis in this program was on family relationships including fathers and siblings who often took part in weekend workshop sessions. During the second year, children played in a nursery while mothers participated in workshops designed to inform them about child management and homemaking.

Once children reach school age, behaviors not checked played an important role as shown by Tremblay, Masse, Perron and Leblanc (1992). The authors raised questions about the cause of poor school achievement. Was it a lack of academic understanding with resultant behavioral problems or did behavioral problems get in the way of academic abilities? Or, was poor school achievement an independent causal factor? The answer to these questions is integral to preventative measures, as it will pinpoint where to start. The authors tested three models in their study.

1. Model A: disruptive behavior and poor school achievement measured at the start of school would lead to continued poor school achievement, which, in turn, would lead to delinquent behavior. 2. Model B: future juvenile delinquents were disruptive at the start of school; this leads to poor school achievement, but the disruptive problems are sufficient to explain the delinquent behavior. 3. Model C: disruptive behavior problems and poor school achievement contribute independently to the development of delinquent behavior.

The subjects in the study were 324 French-Canadian school children (161 boys, 163 girls). The majority of the children were from low middle-class families (63%). The remaining students were from impoverished neighborhoods of Montreal.

Students were surveyed at ages seven, ten and fourteen. In first grade, students completed a peer and self-assessment survey. In fourth grade, cumulative averages for mathematics and French were used. At age fourteen, self-reported delinquency and personality measures were compiled..

Model A was determined by the researchers to be most accurate. A combination of disruptive behavior and a lack of school competencies in grade one resulted in poor school achievement by grade four, which, in turn, can lead to delinquent behavior.

In *Development of Children's Noncompliance Strategies from Toddlerhood to Age 5*, (Kucynski & Kochanska, 1990) the authors saw many noncompliant strategies used by children as a natural consequence of maturation. Children's direct defiance sometimes referred to as the "terrible twos," and noncompliance decreased in most children with age and was replaced by simple refusal and negotiation. Skillful forms of resistance were a natural consequence; unskilled noncompliance was not. Rather, it was a deviant behavior viewed by parents as aversive and directly contrary to their request. It oftentimes led to ratings of behavior problems.

Language

Early language delay is cited as one of three factors that may affect the development of pro- and anti-social behavior during preschool (Loeber, Farrington, & Petechuk, 2003). In a Swedish study, *Early Language and Intelligence Development and Their Relationship to Future Criminal Behavior* (1993), authors Stattin and Klackenber-Larsson saw language as a key component of mental development. The two questions addressed in their study concern the age at which intelligence starts to

become a “prognostic of future criminality” and “to what extent, and how early, do differences between future criminals and non-criminals appear in the language domain?” They looked at: (a) maternal reports of a child’s speech development and impediments, (b) socioeconomic status of the family, (c) criminal behavior, and (d) time spent by parents playing with and reading to the child. They concluded, “Language development is an area to which early differences between future offenders and non-offenders can be traced” (p. 377). Speech development and impediments were not a factor.

In *Sex Differences in Psychological Adjustment from Infancy to Eight Years* authors Prior et al. (1993) further delineated language in psychological development by showing young boys may be at a disadvantage. They declared, “Early language deficiencies and slower development of motor skills in boys are suggested in this study, reflecting perhaps slower maturation of these skills in males and again increasing their vulnerability to difficulties in adapting to school entry” (p. 10). The authors feel particular concern for boys who they see as seriously disadvantaged at school entry in those capacities that facilitate learning and social adjustment. Because of their importance, a lesser start in either learning or social adjustment may put boys at greater risk for long-term learning and behavioral difficulties.

The *Child Delinquency Bulletin* from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Loeber et al., 2003) cited language development as a factor in early disruptive behavior. Loeber asserted, “Language is the primary means by which parents and others affect children’s behavior” (p. 5). Stattin and Klackenberglarsson (1993) concur. In their study authors found registered criminality,

“correlated with language ability not only at 18 months and 24 months but also at the earlier age of 6 months” (p. 373). Farrington (1994) concluded that prediction of offending can be facilitated by looking at language development when a child is six, eighteen and twenty-four months old.

Prevention, Intervention and Parenting Issues

The following studies show how effective programs address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest.

The Impact of a Family Empowerment Intervention on Youth Recidivism

(Dembo, Ramirez-Garnica, Rolie, & Schmeidler, 2000) was a study designed to test the efficacy of two intervention programs: (1) Extended Services Intervention (ESI) and (2) Family Empowerment Intervention (FEI). The ESI program was less intense. Parents only received monthly phone contacts from the project research assistants and, if needed, access to referral information. In the FEI program all people living under the roof of the youth being served participated in three, one-hour family meetings per week. The field consultants who worked with the FEI families worked on nine specific goals including (a) restoring the family hierarchy, (b) restructuring family boundaries, (c) encouraging parents to take responsibility for family functioning, (d) increasing the family structure, (e) enhancing parenting skills, (f) showing parents how to set limits, (g) improving communication, (h) problem solving, and (i) providing connection to other systems.

Participants were families of youth brought to the Hillsborough County Juvenile Assessment Center (JAC) in Tampa, Florida. They were randomly selected

to be part of either the Extended Services Intervention (ESI) or the Family Empowerment Intervention (FEI) program. The study provided extensive data on the youths who entered the Juvenile Assessment Center. Some descriptors of the participants in this study included: most were male, 53% of parents had low/moderate service occupations, 42% of the youths reported being in special education classes, 54% noted they had repeated a grade, 30% reported one or more times to JAC for felony property offenses, 20% reported one or more times to JAC for felony violence offenses, 62% claimed at least one member of their family or household unit, besides themselves, had been arrested, 32% reported at least one member of their family, besides themselves, had an alcohol abuse problem, 57% claimed one or more of their close friends had used alcohol, 42% had been physically abused with a whip, strap or belt, and 28% had been the victim of sexual abuse.

Hair specimens were taken from the intake center for all subjects and used to test for recent drug use. Protocol of the Psychemedics Corporation in Culver City, California was followed. Results showed 46% of the youths tested were positive on one or more of five drugs including cocaine, opiates, PCP, methamphetamines, and marijuana. Recent delinquent behaviors were assessed in four general categories: general theft, crimes against persons, index crimes and total delinquency. Ninety-four percent of those brought to the Juvenile Assessment Center were rated as delinquent youth.

The focus of the research was to determine the impact of assignment to the Family Empowerment Intervention or Extended Services Intervention groups, and secondarily, the interaction of case type and group assignment on the youths'

recidivism during the 12 months following their date of random assignment. Results showed the FEI group were less likely to be arrested than ESI participants. It also showed that compared to ESI youths, FEI youths had less recidivism on property felony charges and on drug felony charges. From the one-year study, it was determined youths in the Family Empowerment Intervention program were more successful.

Placebo studies are uncommon in the literature about families seeking help for adjudicated youth. *In Placebo Versus Social Learning Effect in Parent Training Procedures Designed to Alter the Behavior of Aggressive Boys* (Walter & Gilmore, 1973) the authors had two objectives: (1) to replicate an earlier study (Wiltz, 1969) concerning the role of parents in decelerating deviant behaviors, and (2) to compare the two groups (placebo and treatment) to understand the role of status attention and expectancy. The status was coming to a well-known research facility. Expectancy was the assurance that deviant behaviors would subside. The subjects were all boys with at least one sibling.

Procedures for the treatment group started with six baseline observation sessions following which parents were given a reading assignment – *Living with Children* (Patterson & Guillion, 1968). After assuring all knew the salient points of the publication, an interview was held to teach parents the specification and collection of data pertaining to their child's behavior. Daily phone calls were made to assure parents felt comfortable with their role of collecting data. Weekly meetings were held where each couple received a thirty-minute session to construct programs for targeted deviant behaviors. Four group meetings were followed by intervention

observations. The placebo group was like the treatment group but without the programmed text and without therapists present at the meetings.

Trained observers coded family interactions including twenty-nine categories of codes. All observers had at least two years of experience with the coding system and received retraining of the system during the course of the study. Baseline observations consisting of sixty minutes of data were made during a six-day period following intake. After the four weeks of parent group meetings and training sessions, a two-day intervention observation was made. Data was collected for the child with deviant behavior (40 minutes) and for each member of the family (10 minutes). Inter-observer reliability checks were made and observer bias was accounted for by the use of a “calibrating observer” who was unknowing of the study’s parameters. After the home observations, parents were asked to complete a symptom checklist indicating for that day the presence or absence of behaviors identified at the intake as home problems. A 10-point Expectancy Questionnaire was given to all parents (placebo group and treatment group) after intake and before and after each of the weekly parent meetings. It was found that both sets of parents (placebo and treatment groups) held high expectations for success and this remained throughout the study. The end result was a decrease of observed target deviant behaviors in the treatment group (by 61%) and an increase of deviant behaviors (by 37%) in the placebo subjects illustrating that in this instance training parents in the use of behavior modification theory and practice was an effective means to reduce deviant behaviors.

When asked after the four-week intervention, parents of the placebo group said their children had improved – when in fact they hadn't. Researchers attribute this response to: (1) the reinforcement value of the setting, and (2) the global vs. specific level of the statements. Placebo parents had made global statements at a time when expectations were high.

As of 1973, few published studies had been done on intervention programs to help families deal with delinquent children. One, a study by Alexander and Parsons (1973), *Short-Term Behavioral Intervention with Delinquent Families: Impact on Family Process and Recidivism*, is included to show the state of intervention programs at that time, over a quarter of a century ago. To begin, families who were referred by the Salt Lake County Juvenile Court to the Family Clinic at The University of Utah were randomly assigned to one of three groups: those following a plan based in part on an earlier client-centered family groups program by Patterson and Reid (1970), those receiving an alternative form of intervention, and those receiving no intervention.

In the client-centered family groups program, members held discussions focusing on attitudes and feelings about family relationships and adolescent problems. Therapists modeled the behavior they hoped families would attain. They showed how former demands could become requests that were either accepted or rejected and how to negotiate for change through communication. Families learned how to interrupt each other in three ways without reprisal: (a) for clarification, (b) to increase information, and (c) to offer feedback.

In the alternative intervention plan, a psychodynamic family program facilitated by the Mormon Church, the intervention was described as a “vehicle for therapeutic change based on an eclectic psychodynamic model” (p. 222). This was to be accomplished in twelve to fifteen sessions with considerable variation from family to family. Members of the third group receiving no intervention returned after five to six weeks for evaluation, as did members of the other two treatment groups.

Some, but not all families, were assigned to read *Living with Children* (Patterson and Gullion, 1968). Therapists later admitted reading the manual was not helpful, as many did not take time to do it. Others were to create a list where each family member could specify the responses he would like to see accelerated in other family members.

In the discussion of outcome measures, authors hypothesized better family relationships and a concurrent reduction in recidivism for those in the client centered family program. After results were analyzed, their hypothesis proved true. Recidivism rates for children in the psychodynamic family program were highest at 73%. Children in families receiving no treatment had a 50% rate and those in the client centered family group plan were at 26%. After controlling for dropouts from the three programs, figures changed to 50%, 50% and 22%, respectively. The researchers concluded, “Specific therapist interventions were found to significantly modify family interaction patterns, while nonspecific interventions did not” (p. 224). To counter claims of success by those using the eclectic psychodynamic model, authors suggested,

A focus on families per se is not sufficient to modify family interaction patterns or reduce rates of delinquency. Rather, therapy must move in the direction of better clarity and communication and contingency contracting emphasizing equivalence of rights and responsibilities for all family members (p. 224).

The information found in *A Comparative Evaluation of Parent-Training Interventions for Families of Chronic Delinquents* (Bank, Marlowe, Patterson, Reid & Weinrott, 1991) is designed to empower parents. In the beginning authors claimed the preponderance of crime was committed by a very small group of delinquents. Support for their work can be found in a paper presented by Farrington (1981) to the Conference on Antecedent Aggression and Antisocial Behavior. In it Farrington alluded to the small number of offenders who commit half the crimes. He also expressed concern about the young age, before twelve years old, at which time chronic offenders begin.

Bank et al. (1991) did not see the high percentage of crime committed by a few as the only problem. Interventions seemed to be frustratingly ineffective. Bank et al. (1991) proposed that parents take the lead and learn to become better parents through training. The following study was designed to show how parents, when given the tools to work with their children, could become more effective.

First, the Lane County, Oregon, Juvenile Court, referred the families of sixty boys to be included in the study. Criteria established for this study included: the boys must be a repeat youthful offender, no more than sixteen years of age at intake and living with his family no more than twenty miles from the Oregon Social Learning

Center (OSLC). For purposes of research, two treatments were devised: (a) an experimental treatment program, and (b) a community control treatment. In the experimental program, families (including the boys) went to therapy sessions where therapeutic techniques were shared. Parents identified not only antisocial behaviors but other behaviors that might lead to antisocial acts including “lack of class attendance, defiance toward teachers or adults, hanging out with kids in trouble, curfew violations, and drug use” (p. 19). These events were documented to facilitate daily and weekly supervision. If school was an issue, students carried a card for sign-off including homework, assignments missed, attendance, etc. Punishment for other infractions included work, loss of free time, and restitution. Parents were taught to report all infractions to the juvenile authorities.

Boys in the community program were at a stage where intensive family treatment was the only thing keeping them from incarceration. Bank et al. (1991) stated,

All subjects in the community control group were assigned to intensive family treatment involving weekly 90-minute family therapy sessions; in addition, over half of the subjects in the group participated in weekly group counseling sessions focused on drug use. Either the family therapist or the participant’s probation officer monitored school attendance and performance of the boys. The control group received approximately fifty hours of direct treatment plus follow-up. This is comparable to the experimental group. (p. 20)

Measures used to track the boys included the Official Offense Report, Family Measures and the Parent Daily Report. The latter two were for the experimental

group only. After analysis, it was determined the Oregon Social Learning Center experimental treatment produced quicker results that were (a) at least as strong and durable as those produced by the intensive community program and (b) obtained with one-third less reliance on incarceration. The authors noted an important paradigm shift. "It may well be that the major impact of the OSLC experimental treatment program was to alter parent behavior" (p. 30). The study concluded with recommendations for more powerful and intensive intervention programs that begin earlier in the delinquent process.

In the *Long Term Follow-Up Assessment of Parent Training by Use of Multiple Outcome Measures* (Baum & Forehand, 1981), the effects of long term maintenance following a standardized parent-training program were scrutinized. At the time of their writing, only six other studies had been done based on data of groups of subjects eight months following treatment. The subjects used in the Baum and Forehand (1981) study were thirty-four mother-child pairs. Children were between four to twelve years old with a median age of nearly eight. Twenty-two children were male; twelve were female. Socio-economic status was determined using I to V, I being of the class including professionals, V being of the class including welfare recipients. Numbers of children include four, nine, twelve, eight, and one family in classes I, II, III, IV and V, respectively.

Mothers completed three scales from the Parent Attitude Test (Cowen, Beach, Huser, & Rappaport, 1970) at pre-, post-, and follow-up contacts. The Home Attitude Scale consisted of seven items indicating parent perception of their child's home adjustment. The Behavior Rating Scale asked parents to report on and indicate the

severity of twenty-three identified problem behaviors and the Adjective Checklist Scale asked mothers to rate thirty-three personality adjectives on a three-point Likert scale. Parent perception of the benefits of the program at completion was measured using the Behavior Post-treatment subscale. When subjects and their mothers came back for a follow-up session, a consumer satisfaction survey was submitted.

The treatment program began with the selection of children. After an initial interview to determine if noncompliance was the main child problem, accepted families were asked to complete the parent questionnaires and schedule a pre-treatment home observation. The following two-stage treatment plan includes both parent(s) and child. During Stage I, the parent(s) learned to increase their reinforcing value to the child by increasing the frequency and quality of social rewards and reducing competing verbal behavior. In Stage II parents were taught to give clear, concise commands, allowing the child time to comply, and rewarding compliance with contingent attention. If the child did not respond within five seconds of the command, parents gave children a time out after which they reissued the command.

After treatment, mothers were contacted by telephone and asked to participate in a follow-up assessment. The treatment proved effective. Child compliance increased and was maintained at follow-up while deviant behavior decreased to follow-up. There was stability of the change across time up to 4.5 years. Parents perceived their children's behavior was improved at both post-treatment and follow-up. Parents used the skills they had been taught and found them to be easy to implement. They used fewer positive reinforcements through the treatment process as the program was designed and reported a high level of satisfaction. The authors of

this study admit with no control group there is no way to determine if, after 4.5 years, the same improvements might be shown. They believe there are practical and ethical issues raised by the use of a control group. Of primary importance was, “Clients could not be placed in a waiting-list control group for a period up to 4.5 years or could not be given a placebo treatment and then followed for 4.5 years without being offered an active treatment program” (p. 651).

Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen and Wolf (1971) showed how a token economy can be used to improve and maintain the academic skills of institutionalized delinquents. In their study, *Achievement Place: Modification of the Behaviors of Pre-Delinquent Boys within a Token Economy* (Phillips et al., 1971) hoped to evaluate the effects of a token economy on promptness at meal time, room cleaning, saving money, and accuracy of answers on a news quiz.

In the token economy used with delinquent youth in this program, points were earned or lost by behaviors. Points and behaviors were recorded on a 3”x 5” card carried by the student. The difference between positive and negative points was calculated at the end of the day to determine a student’s buying power for the next day. Initially, points were earned during the week to be spent for the following week’s privileges. It turned out students did not care about behaviors for the first few days of the week – the end of the week was too far away. This was remedied by requiring students to earn at least 1500 points each day to engage in weekly buying. When it was discovered that some still did not respond to the token economy, day-to-day buying power was initiated. The one caveat: basic privileges (including use of

tools, telephone, radio, recreation room and the privilege of going outdoors) had to be purchased first.

Four experiments were included in this study. The first, promptness, had three conditions: baseline, points, and threats with no points. In *Baseline*, a bell was rung and all students had to be seated within a given time. In *Points*, for every minute late a loss of 100 points was recorded on the card. In *Threats, No Points*, the announcement, "If you are late for dinner tomorrow night you will lose points," was followed up by no action the next night. The announcement came on the sixth, tenth, fourteenth, and eighteenth days. Students reverted back to dinner "latecomers" until the original *Points* condition was put back in place.

The second experiment dealt with room cleaning. This was a logical choice as many of the social workers and probation officers said the homes of the boys were unkempt. The boys' rooms were divided into ten major areas. Each area was assigned a number of possible points; the total number for the room was 100. *Points* were awarded as follows: if the room scored 80 or above, the boy made 500 points. The converse was also true – if the room scored below 80, 500 points were taken away. In addition boys were given feedback telling how their room scores were assigned.

Fading Points during which the *Points* were reinstated but no feedback was given followed a period of *No Points with Threats*. In *Fading Points*, the percentage of days when the contingency occurred and consequences were delivered was reduced from 100% to 50% for eight days, then to 33% for nine days, to 16% for 27 days and 8% for twenty-five days. During the intermittent consequence time, points

that could be earned or lost accumulated each day the contingency did not occur. For example: "If the contingency was finally applied after five days, five times as many points would be earned or lost than if the contingency had occurred on each successive day" (p. 49). After the thirty-eighth day, a fixed number of points (equal to a five-day accumulation under the adjusting consequence) was gained or lost for each ensuing contingency.

The boys did very well during the *Points* with feedback period. During the *No Points* time, unkempt rooms became the rule. When the *Points* were reinstated without feedback, the boys had no trouble keeping their rooms clean. During the time of demands with threat of point removal that never came, rooms were again left unclean. Finally, with *Fading Points* and the percentage of days on which the point consequences were delivered being reduced from 100% to 8%, room cleaning remained at a "stable, high level." Data from this experiment indicates point consequences worked in maintaining the room-cleaning effort even when consequences were delivered on as few as 8% of the days.

The third experiment was about saving money. Before beginning the study, each boy was given a piggy bank and told once he had decided on a purchase and knew the anticipated price, the bank would be opened only when that amount had been earned. During the *Points* period, boys were given ten points for every penny deposited, regardless of the day of deposit. When the *Points Specific Days* was begun, deposits could be made for points only on Saturday, Monday, and Wednesday for a period of four weeks. The boys made deposits only on those days. The data

from this experiment shows that saving behavior never became independent of the need for compensation.

The final experiment was about watching the news. There were many parts to this including: (a) all boys watching the news, (b) some not allowed to watch while others did, (c) some watching Walter Cronkite, and (d) others watching Huntley-Brinkley. Data showed the number of correct answers on a quiz given the boys depended in large part on watching the appropriate newscast and not on information available on other newscasts or on information from other sources available to the boys.

In summation, token economies proved effective in working with at-risk youth. There are two dimensions to consider: One relates to the distribution of tokens – all positive, all negative or a combination of positive or negative. The second relates to the number of tokens earned and the cost of privileges. In the flexible economy found in this study, one cannot lose the value of the token, but it may require more effort than before to attain it.

Fearing that points would negate one's ability to function in the real world, a merit system was added. No points had to be earned to award privileges if there were no blemishes for a period of time. Continued time on the merit system allowed students to move to the homeward bound program. Regression in behaviors returned the student to the weekly point system for further training. The researchers found that students respond well to the immediate gratification of points or the ability to earn when the return is favorable (knowing they get points for depositing money in their piggy banks on a particular day). If consequences are not meted out for behaviors,

students will continue those behaviors. Those ready to return home can see the value of good behavior without being rewarded.

The Meta-Analysis of the Effects of Parent Effectiveness Training (PET) (Cedar & Levant, 1990) based on the work of Gordon (1970) closes the parenting issues in this study. In it the outcome research literature of the PET program was reviewed including the overall effectiveness of the program, outcomes, residual properties, and methodological considerations. The authors reviewed some sixty studies choosing twenty-six which exemplified the PET program. To be included the study must compare two groups with pre- and post- treatment measures with parents included as subjects. The methodology must be quantitative.

Studies were coded by date and form of publication, program characteristics and design. Information was also coded on the reliability and validity of the study, the “participant/non participant” status of respondents, the “reactivity” of the instrument and its match with designated outcomes. The authors designed a coding manual to accompany the study.

As to the effects of Parent Effectiveness Training on the outcome, the sample group showed it had a large effect on parents’ knowledge and small-to-moderate effect on parent’s attitudes, parent’s behaviors, and child’s self-esteem. Effect on parent’s self-esteem, child attitudes and child behavior was negligible.

Evaluating time of measurement (post-test and follow-up) presented some problems as only five of the twenty-six studies provided any follow-up assessment. As to the methodological effect, only seven met Levant’s five criteria of adequacy (Levant, 1983). These criteria included: “non-attendant control group, random

assignment to condition, standard PET procedures, standardized dependent measures, and appropriate use of inferential statistical tests” (p. 379).

When considering the *Effects of Specific Design Criteria*, higher effect sizes were associated with: “the use of either random or matching procedures for the assignment to groups, adequate sample size ($N = \geq 25$) and checks on the standardization of treatment” (p. 379). Other considerations included marital status, income, mean age of parents, religion, child’s mean age and treatment setting. Bias concerns were noted between those who did and did not support the program. There were no differences when considering chronological age of the studies.

Lack of leader certification was associated with negative effect sizes when considering program variables. Variations in the standard PET format, contact hours, and fee assessment were negligible. Community was related to outcomes in that participants from predominantly suburban communities had a higher effect size than those in rural or urban sites. The authors admit this may be due to socio-economic factors rather than geographical placement. Parent’s marital status, age or the spans of their children’s ages do not bear the same impact.

Children’s ages and problems do have a high correlation with effect size on outcomes. The older the child and the more severe the problem, the more likely the program will work. There is also a significantly higher effect size associated with learning-disabled children than with delinquent children. In conclusion authors view the effectiveness of PET programs to be larger than they initially thought. They suggest that additional work be done on length of effect and effect size on different populations.

It appears the best prevention to juvenile delinquency and the best intervention methods once delinquency has begun are related to how well parents take an active role in their child's life.

Youth with Disabilities in Juvenile Justice

Addressing Invisible Barriers: Improving Outcomes for Youth with Disabilities in the Juvenile Justice System, (Osher et al. 2002) is the first of seven monographs from a joint project of the Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice and The National Center on Education, Disability and Juvenile Justice (EDJJ). The monograph is divided into four sections: (a) prevention and early intervention as a means of keeping youth with disabilities from entering the justice system, (b) various disabilities that make it more likely these students will become involved in the juvenile justice system and make their experiences there more complex, (c) how disabilities may be addressed as a youth goes through the system, and (d) a brief description of the other monographs in the series.

This first monograph begins with information about the numbers of children with disabilities in the juvenile system. Osher et al. (2002) indicated that as many as 45.2% of youths detained are youths with disabilities and yet in the overall population, youths with disabilities make up only 8.82% as of 2000. These figures are from a survey that was sent to all state, local and county Juvenile Detention facilities; the entire population of corrections systems and the entire population of State Departments of Education, Office of Special Education in the United States.

After the brief introduction outlining the extent to which children with disabilities are involved in the juvenile justice system, Osher et al. (2002) delineated

the rest of the first monograph. It included (a) the importance of prevention and early intervention as a means to keep children with disabilities from entering the system, (b) the various cognitive, behavioral and emotional disabilities these youths may have and how those disabilities work against them in the juvenile justice system, (c) the way disabilities might be addressed as the child moves through the system and (d) an overview of the contents of the other six monographs in the series.

After looking at the monetary cost of one chronic criminal (1.0 to 1.3 million dollars), the authors looked at prevention from three levels. The first, “universal protection,” included school-wide programs to increase the awareness level of all students to delaying or never experiencing their first offense. Walker, Bricker, Bullis, Horner, Kaufman, Sprague and Sugai (1996) estimate school-wide interventions “can usually reduce problem behavior for eighty percent of students” (p. 203). At the “selective prevention” level, efforts were directed at high-risk youth who may be at risk for involvement in the juvenile justice system because they live in poverty or in a high violence neighborhood. These youth may have a dysfunctional family where substance abuse is commonplace. The goal of secondary prevention is to “quickly remediate problems while they are still emerging, and to strengthen the impact of protective factors (close relations with prosocial adults, mentors, programs) that might avert subsequent juvenile delinquency” (p. 11). For those in the “indicated prevention” level, individualized and intensive efforts must be made. The goal is to “prevent youth who are beginning to experience behavior problems from becoming more severely involved or from recidivating” (p. 11). If a youth is placed in a juvenile facility, the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, provides a model wrap-around

service to assist when they are released. This includes a multitude of helping agencies such as (a) mobile crisis team, (b) in-home therapy, (c) family therapy, (d) alcohol and substance abuse counseling, (e) mentoring, (f) respite care, and (g) independent living support (Kamradt & Myers, 1999).

In the early intervention discussion, the monograph asserted the importance of a youth's age at the time of the first offense as a powerful indicator of adult criminality (Snyder & Sickmund, 1999). In 1996, 30% of juvenile arrests for violent crimes (murder, rape, robbery, assault) were children age 14 and younger. Like Milwaukee, the High/Scope Perry Preschool Prevention Program in Ypsilanti, Michigan (Zigler et al. 1992) has been shown to be effective in keeping youth out of court at such an early age. It was found to impact (a) arrest rates, (b) education, (c) earnings, and (d) welfare participation.

Family involvement is a matter of timing. According to the authors, the most effective time to get families concerned about at-risk behaviors is at a time of crisis in the family including birth of another child, divorce, or a child's first contact with juvenile justice. If possible, it is suggested preventative services should begin with the strengths of the family rather than on their continuing demise. An example is found in schools. One of the first questions in current Montana Individualized Education Plan (IEP) forms is a question posed to parents: What are your child's strengths? It sets a positive tone for the meeting that no other question can bring. It tells parents the school and teachers are interested in what their child does well. Likewise, the authors suggested in assessment and evaluation, evaluators should look

at not only what is wrong with the child but also what is right. It is termed “strength-based” assessment.

The second section of the first monograph talked about the different disabilities recognized in today’s parlance. The learning disabled child (LD) may perform at a “normal” range of intelligence and struggle with only selected learning areas – math or reading or both math and reading. The reader is reminded that no two children with “learning disabilities” are exactly alike. One may have difficulty with one academic area and perform at or above grade level in all others. One may be able to spell and read but not be able to comprehend what they have read or spelled out. Learning disabilities are life long. Learning to compensate and cope with one’s disability shows great perseverance.

Osher et al. (2002) encapsulated some of the many faces of the emotionally disturbed child. The emotionally disturbed child (ED) often exhibits conduct problems seen in juvenile court as negative behaviors. The behavior may be, in truth, an improper regulation of anger and anxiety. Anger is often exacerbated by seemingly unimportant events and anxiety is often suppressed in emotionally disturbed children. Suppressed anxieties may include specific phobias or more generalized anxiety disorders including panic disorder, compulsive disorder, or post-traumatic stress. Manic mood disorders often come to the attention of law enforcement. Children exhibiting mood disorder maladies, including “bi-polar” or “manic-depressive” mood swings may need education to understand their disability, psychotherapy to deal with it, and medication to keep it under control.

Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is the behavioral disorder “most often co-occurring with delinquency” (p. 18). ADHD is described as,

A genetically influenced disorder of the brain’s behavioral inhibition system. Inhibition is the ability to stop oneself from doing something, and it has important roles in memory, emotion and speech. Studies show ADHD students are at increased risk for academic problems, antisocial behavior, drug use/abuse, academic dropout and depression (p. 18).

One facet of treatment that confounds the disability issue is co-morbidity, or the occurrence of more than one malady at a time. Zoccolillo (1992) found that up to 50% of children with conduct problems also had anxiety or mood disorders. The authors closed with this admonition, “The best outcomes are realized when youth receive individualized culturally competent assessment and coordinated, family- and community-based services” (p. 19).

The third part of the monograph walks through the various stages of the juvenile court system. In the initial custody/detention phase, it must be determined if a youth is disabled to a point where they may not understand what charges are being brought against them. Intake personnel need to establish the existence of an IEP if applicable and any medications a child may require. At the initial appearance, accommodations for juveniles with a recognized disability must be made. It may mean more time for explanations, a quiet setting, fewer distractions, and possibly a written explanation of the young person’s rights. In prosecution filing decisions/diversions, most programs provide that, “If a youth meets the requirements

of the diversion contract, the charges/petition will not be processed and will not go on the youth's record" (Osher et al., 2000), p. 20.

Osher et al. (2000) describe in very succinct terms how the courts pass judgment on youths with disabilities. In the adjudication hearing/trial, the Court must ensure all procedures necessary to protect the juvenile's rights are followed and that a transcript is made in case there is an appeal later. The Federal government judged ADHD as a disability if the disorder limits a major life activity; therefore, individuals with ADHD are entitled to reasonable accommodation in the courtroom, just as they are in the classroom (*Aviles v. Bowen, 1989*). In the post adjudication/evaluation phase, the assessment examines the youth's past and present taking note of any medications prescribed or current treatment programs. The court should have the authority to conduct medical and/or psychological testing to assure an accurate and complete evaluation. Practitioners know mental health services are sorely lacking in many juvenile facilities in the disposition and sentencing phase. If the youth is put on probation, it is up to the youth probation officer to understand the legally binding IEP developed at the school. If there are additions from the court, they may be added when the school IEP team convenes. Judges and lawyers need to be cognizant of the needs of disabled youth. The authors suggested judges might need to engage in continuing education to remain knowledgeable about special education laws. The remaining monographs in the joint venture of the Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice/The National Center on Education, Disability and Juvenile Justice discuss the prevalence rates of disabled students entering the correctional system, best practices for serving court involved youth, current education practice for youth with

cognitive and behavioral issues, and the role of recreation and collaboration with the various agencies servicing disabled children in judicial matters.

The numbers are telling. As reported in the sixth monograph (Rutherford, Bullis, Anderson & Griller-Clark, 2002), thirty to fifty percent of youth in the juvenile court system are children with special needs. Further, it was revealed by two studies (DeMilio, 1989; Lexcen & Redding, 2000) that many who work with youth in the justice system are inadequately trained to work with children with disabilities. Some disabilities, Attention Deficit with Hyperactivity Disorder and Emotionally Disturbed (ADHD and ED), lend themselves to behaviors that may offend or disturb justice department employees who have no knowledge of possible behaviors of special needs children.

Questions posed by Rutherford et al. (2002) ask that youth court officials think about some of the following possibilities:

1. Could it be the youth, because of disabilities, does not understand the charges?
2. Does the youth have an IEP?
3. Is the IEP being followed in the justice system?
4. Is there need for additional testing?
5. Do all personnel and family members understand the youth's disability?
6. Do teachers and school personnel understand the youth's disability?
7. If the youth doesn't have an IEP, what measures are being taken to assure he doesn't need one?

Legislation dealing with at-risk youth in judicial matters is making its presence known. The Rehabilitation Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)

and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) all apply. A Supreme Court decision following a Pennsylvania case makes the rights of incarcerated individuals (including juveniles) very clear (Osher et al., 2002). Justice Antonin Scalia wrote for the unanimous court in Pennsylvania *Department of Corrections v. Ronald R. Yeskey* (1998). In this decision it was determined “prisons fall squarely within the statutory definition of a public entity and therefore must not, by reason of disability, exclude someone from participation or deny benefits of services, programs, or activities of a public entity” (p. 5). The message was clear and yet Rouse (1997) observing the work of the Appellate Division, First Judicial Department, Supreme Court of the State of New York found that the speed with which children with ADHD go through the court system is faster than speed of children without ADHD. Further, he notes how ADHD children go farther in the court system than their counterparts without disabilities.

In March 1997, the Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice at the American Institutes for Research facilitated a focus group of experts sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), the National Institute for Literacy, the National Recreation and Park Association, the U. S. Department of Education’s Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, and the Office of Vocational and Adult Education. This group of experts revealed a consensus that was not glowing:

1. The juvenile justice system has not responded to the needs of disabled children.
2. Issues are interconnected including lack of early intervention, school failure, lack of response and the lack of aftercare.
3. Recidivism rates are too high.
4. Connection between youth and those who serve them is weak.
5. Juvenile justice has to take a more active role in intervention.
6. Academic and social education is critical.
7. Intervention must be linked to prevention, which begins in preschool (Osher et al., 2002).

In October 1998 another group was convened that was sponsored by the National Association of State Directors of Special Education. The U. S. Department of Education's Office of Special Education and the OJJDP identified many issues that were still outstanding including the lack of compliance with IDEA, ADA, and Section 504 of the Rehabilitative Act of 1973. They also noted a continued lack of awareness and training in the juvenile justice system, over-representation of children of color in the system, lack of a seamless approach to services from the beginning to end of judicial contact, need for more prevention/ intervention measures, need for more early and ongoing parent and family involvement, and a need for more coordination between the school and residential treatment programs (Osher et al., 2002).

The result of the two forums was the establishment of a new entity, the National Center on Education, Juvenile Justice and Disability (EDJJ). EDJJ is a collaborative effort involving faculties from The University of Maryland, The

University of Kentucky, Arizona State University, The Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice at the American Institutes for Research, and the PACER parent advocacy center in Minneapolis, Minnesota (Osher et al., 2002).

In summary, all who work with children with special needs from school personnel to the courts, need to understand children's disabilities and apply a fair and just letter of the law to any decisions involving them. Children with disabilities are a presence in the justice system and need knowledgeable adults to assist them.

Prediction

Prediction studies focus on the "red flags" children hoist before they fall into the guidance of the correctional system. The first prediction study looked at a life-course trajectory of crime (Nagin, Farrington, & Moffitt, 1995), which was based on an earlier Nagin study (Nagin & Land, 1993). In the 1995 study four different offending pathways were illuminated. The first is "never convicted" (NC); the second, "adolescence-limited" (AL), or those who stopped offending in their early twenties; the third group, "high-level chronics" (HLC), offended at a high level through the observation period; the fourth group, "low-level chronics" (LLC), were those who offended at a low level during observation. Nagin and Land (1993) noticed an interesting phenomenon: The incidence of offending for the high-level chronics rose to a peak at age eighteen and gradually leveled off to nearly the same as the low-level chronics by age thirty. The adolescence-limited offenders peaked at age eighteen and tumbled to zero where they remained through age 30.

The subjects of the study were interviewed at two-year intervals to age eighteen and again at age thirty-two. An immense data bank was gathered including information on:

Psychological characteristics including IQ, risk-taking behavior, and neuroticism; on socialization variables including parental supervision and attachment; on family background variables including criminality of parents and siblings, income, separation from parents, and family size. Beginning in late adolescence interviewers gathered data on drug and alcohol use, sexual activity, family formation patterns, and employment status. (Nagin and Land, 1993, p. 116).

In the first stage of the study, subjects were assigned a category by virtue of the number of their offenses and at what point in life they occurred. Interestingly, the adolescence-limited who officially quit offending at age 22 had nearly the same general delinquency and theft rates as the high-level chronics and low-level chronics. All three offending groups found themselves unemployed, in unskilled labor jobs and generally in unstable conditions. By age thirty-two, however, things changed for those designated as adolescence-limited. They enjoyed nearly the same employment opportunities as those designated as never convicted. Self-reports, rather than the police blotter, provided an explanation. They reported that without getting caught adolescence-limited subjects still engaged in property crime, theft, and admitted to stealing from their employer. The authors commented on two findings. One, the discrepancies between official data and self-reports and two, the continued

involvement of the adolescence-limited subjects in deviant behaviors when they appeared to no longer be committing deviant acts.

In a more direct prediction of delinquency, Haapasalo and Tremblay (1994) targeted physically aggressive boys. They deferred to earlier research acknowledging individual (genetic and temperament) and environmental (parenting behavior) factors along with aggressiveness as a primary cause of later aggressive, antisocial and criminal behavior. Others concur including low socio-economic status, parents' low occupational status and employment, family structure (intact versus non-intact), large family size, maternal age at birth of the child, institutional placements, impoverished neighborhoods with low social support and crowded, poor housing conditions as context variables influencing the prediction of delinquency (Rosenbaum, 1989; Wells & Rankin, 1991).

Parenting behavior is also a facet of prediction. Parents who engage in drug and alcohol abuse, are engaged in separation issues or who mistreat their children with harsh or inconsistent punishment may well be adding to their child's future woes (Haapasalo & Tremblay, 1994).

Like the Nagin study (1995), subjects in the Haapasalo and Tremblay (1994) study were classified into groups. Here the number of fights and when they occurred form the categories. They are: (a) stable high fighters (high fighter in kindergarten and fighter in at least two of the next three years), (b) high fighters (not a high fighter in kindergarten but a fighter in at least two of the next three years), (c) desisting high fighters (high fighter in kindergarten but not for at least two of the following years), (d) variable high fighters (intermittent pattern of high fighting with not more than two

of four years rated as high fighter), and (e) non-fighters (p. 1045). The authors hoped to find out how boys with different fighting patterns from age six to twelve differ from each other in their family background and parenting behaviors.

Parent variables were cordoned into three groups: the first is based on child report questions, “Do your parents know about your whereabouts when you go out?” and “Do your parents know with whom you are spending time when you go out?” Scores were based on “never”, “sometimes”, “often”, and “always” responses. The second set was related to parental punishment issues and again was based on child responses. The next group of questions queried children about parental rules. Finally, parent attitudes of pleasure and exasperation were charted. Through the surveys, the authors hoped to determine the extent that family background, parenting behaviors, and fighting patterns contributed to the prediction of delinquency in adolescents.

The results from the Haapasalo and Tremblay (1994) study gave valuable predictive information. Low family adversity, low fighting behavior between ages six and twelve, low punishment (especially for the high fighters with late onset) and high supervision predicted positive outcomes (measured as staying out of delinquent behavior at ages thirteen and fourteen). High fighting throughout kindergarten and elementary school years was associated with high self-reported delinquency across ages ten to fourteen. This study illustrated the predictive value of early behaviors.

Matherne and Thomas (2001) also target family issues in *Family Environment as a Predictor of Adolescent Delinquency* and cite the same concerns as Haapasalo and Tremblay (1994). Their work looks primarily at family status (two-parent,

single-parent) and family type (how family members react with one another illustrated by adaptability, cohesiveness and communication). The tool used to assess family type is the Circumplex Model (Olson, Russell & Sprenkle, 1979) based on the assumption that the difference between functional and dysfunctional families is determined by cohesion and adaptability. A balanced family type resulted when a moderate level of cohesion and adaptability occurred. A mid-range type was the result of either cohesion or adaptability being extreme. An extreme type resulted from both extreme cohesion and extreme adaptability. Of the families in the study, 29.4% were balanced, 40.9% were mid-range and 29.4% were extreme.

Analysis showed there was no significant relationship between delinquency and either adaptability or cohesion for traditional families but for nontraditional families, there was a significant relationship between delinquency and cohesion. The authors do not discount this finding but relegate it more to the ability of traditional families being able to compensate in ways not available to those in a non-traditional status.

Meta-analyses including *The Prediction of Criminal Recidivism in Juveniles* (Cottle, Lee, & Heilbrun, 2001) provided a more expanded look at the problem of prediction. The study included twenty-three published works representing 15,265 juveniles. Eight groups of identified predictors were compared: (a) demographic information (gender, race, and socio-economic status); (b) offense history (age of first contact with the law, age at first commitment, number of prior arrests, number of prior commitments, type of crime committed, and length of first incarceration); (c) family and social factors (victim of physical or sexual abuse, single parent, parent

pathology, number of out-of-home placements, family problems, use of leisure time, and delinquent peers); (d) educational factors (history of special education, attendance, and achievement); (e) intellectual and achievement scores (standardized test scores, Verbal and Performance IQ scores, and Full Scale IQ scores); (f) substance use history (substance use and abuse); (g) clinical factors (severe pathology, conduct problems, non-severe pathology, and history of treatment); and (h) formal risk assessment. (There were not enough studies on formal risk assessment to divide the domain into separate variables. It is included to represent any study investigating combinations of variables to predict recidivism.) Offense history was the variable most able to predict re-offending.

Truancy and Mobility

The link between truancy and delinquency is not a new phenomenon. Katz, in *The Irony of Early School Reform* (1968), found a judge in the 1800's who recognized the link between parents and their child's success in school. The judge severely rebuffed parents who allowed their children to be truant. Likewise, Tyerman (1968) reported a 19th century school superintendent who placed truancy second only to lying as a major cause of young people going to reform school. Finally, in 1942 it was discovered that truancy and city of Chicago crimes happened almost concurrently. A reduction in truancy resulted in a reduction of crime. (Shaw & McKay, 1942).

Author Tom Gavin (1997) tells of a current interdiction program in St. Petersburg, Florida where students are held at a truancy center until parents can come and return them to school. Some parents come quickly, others claim transportation or

work issues prevent them from coming. They are advised to take a taxi or a bus and if need be, a supervisor will be called to see if the parent can be relieved for an hour or two. Knowing that not requiring their child to go to school is a crime and the involvement of a supervisor usually prompts quick action. The last resort is to deliver the child to the parent's work site.

When parents come to the truancy center, they are given the referral slip required to admit the child back to school. This ensures that the parent will indeed go with their child back to school. Gavin (1997) agrees to the critical nature of having all players on the same field. The St. Petersburg school superintendent is supportive as are other agencies that may already be working with the child (including probation and social workers). After instituting the program, St. Petersburg experienced a dramatic decrease in burglaries, especially those committed during school hours.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention views truancy not only as a link to serious delinquency but also to significant negative behaviors and characteristics in adults including (a) poorer mental and physical health, (b) lower paying jobs and (c) increased chance of living in poverty and (d) the likelihood of incarceration (Bell, Rosen, & Dynlact 1994; Huizinga, Loeber, & Thornberry, 1995).

In *Truancy Reduction: Keeping Students in School*, OJJDP authors Baker, Sigmon and Nugent (2001) cited four correlates of truancy including family issues (violence, poverty, drug and/or alcohol abuse), school factors (inflexible teaching styles to meet differentiated learning styles), economic influences (single parents, high mobility, parents holding multiple jobs), and student variables (lack of social competence, mental or physical health ills). This research also cited the high

incidence of daytime crime involving juveniles and the cost of not only the crime but the end result of the student not being in school (p. 2).

The authors cite the work of the Pima County, Arizona truancy task force who designed the Abolish Chronic Truancy (ACT) Now Program in conjunction with the Pima County Attorney's Office. The main thrust of the program revolves around enforcement of the mandatory attendance law, services to help determine the real problem leading to truancy and sanctions for parents and students who continue to disregard the law or who do not complete the diversion program successfully. The actions of the plan are sure and swift. After one unexcused absence, parents are sent a letter advising them that continued truancy will result in their prosecution. After a third unexcused absence, the Center for Juvenile Alternatives (CJA) is notified, as are parents. In the notification parents are informed that only by successfully completing the diversion program for young truants and their families will they be absolved of any prosecution.

The success of Pima County's program is built on clearly stated goals and guidelines and adequate training for key players. Students and parents understand the one-day rule and the consequences for exceeding the limit. The media and community leaders are also behind the program. That truancy is related to later dropping out of school is not lost on program directors and indeed one of the measures of positive effect relates to the largest decrease in dropouts correlating to the largest decrease in truancy rates (www.sc.co.pima.az.us).

A second study in the Baker, Sigmon and Nugent (2001) paper is the Truancy Reduction Demonstration Program (TRDP) funded by the Justice Department and

placed in cities and counties across the country of successful grant applicants. They include Contra Costa County, California; Jacksonville, Florida; Athens, Georgia; Honolulu, Hawaii; Yaphank, New York; Houston, Texas; and Tacoma, Washington. To help facilitate the program, the OJJDP asked all participants to submit individual-level data (including family demographics, school attendance, academic achievement, and discipline records), school information (including special education rates, numbers of students receiving free and reduced lunch, school completion/promotion rates, and academic achievement information) and finally community information (gang activity, truancy rates, substance abuse, child welfare, and mental health issues) (p. 9). There was a wide disparity in some areas. Eighty-three percent of the students in Jacksonville receive free or reduced lunch where only 21.9% of the students in Yaphank, New York receive this benefit. Twenty-two percent of students in Tacoma have an IEP where only 9.0% of students in Houston receive special education services (p. 10). Differences aside, all seven communities found commonalities in their strengths, needs, strategies, and milestones. All looked to law enforcement, youth services, juvenile justice agencies, schools, social services, and community-based organizations as key components of success. When this journal came to press, the jury was still out. Almost all of the participating sites needed more time, support, and training than they anticipated. The Justice Department is continuing to wage war on truancy.

Sigmon, Engelhardt-Greer, and Nugent (1999) writing for the American Prosecutors Research Institute, did a review of the ACT Now program and found substantial evidence that the program had a positive effect on truancy. There was a

better awareness of truancy and schools became active participants. Two deficits are noted – one, the lack of adequate feedback to schools regarding the youth referred to the program and, two, the lack of a database to track referrals, services and recidivism as they had hoped to do.

The topic of mobility was alluded to as a factor of economic concerns in Baker et al., 2001. Although little research has been done on the effects of mobility on youth violence, Maguin, Abbott, Catalano, Hawkins, Herrenkohl, and Hill (1995) found self-reported violent behavior at age 18 was related to the number of changes in residence in the past year when subjects were age 16 suggesting mobility's connection to juvenile delinquency. Thornberry, Smith, Rivera, Huizinga and Stouthamer-Loeber (1999) cited family transitions, which include mobility, as having a consequence on delinquency. They looked at family transition and drug use in Rochester, New York; Denver, Colorado; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The correlation between drug use, delinquency and family transitions was evident in the Rochester findings. In Denver two and three-plus transitions showed no difference in drug and delinquency use. Delinquency and drug use was higher after the first transition in the Pittsburgh study than it was after the second transition. After three-plus transitions, however, delinquency and drug use in Pittsburgh was again on the rise. A final look at mobility's role in delinquency comes from Laub and Sampson (1988). Writing in *Criminology*, 1988, they cited residential mobility as the one structural background factor (among parental criminality, family structure, drunkenness, and crowding) that had a direct effect on delinquency.

Youth Crime, Adult Time

Youth in juvenile justice can be remanded to adult court. As this part of the literature review will show, being remanded to adult court is not always the best solution.

Satchel (2002) supported the hypothesis that youthful offenders cannot be incarcerated in a facility with adults without being adversely affected. In *Lost Opportunities: Our Children are NOT Rehabilitated When They Are Treated and Incarcerated As Adults* (2002), Satchel (2002) reported that 47 state legislatures and the District of Columbia did not share her views. Satchel's stance is supported by a study done by the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice, 2002. Researchers matched young offenders on seven criteria (a) gender, (b) age, (c) race, (d) presenting offense, (e) number of current counts or charges, (f) number of previous juvenile referrals, and (g) most serious prior referral offense to determine the effect of sending offending youth through the juvenile system or remanding him to adult court. After refining to 475 pairs of offenders, case files were reviewed resulting in 315 "best matched pairs." Of the initial group, 49% of the youth transferred to adult court recidivated compared to 35% of those who remained in youth court.

Columbia University researcher, Jeffrey Fagan (1996) has done similar work. He compared youthful offenders in New York and New Jersey for crimes of first and second degree robbery, and first-degree burglary. In New York these youths were adjudicated in adult court; in New Jersey youths in the study stayed in juvenile court. Fagan found in both robbery and burglary offences, young people in New Jersey who were adjudicated in youth court fared better when comparing later recidivism rates.

A third researcher, David Myers (2001), criminology professor at Indiana University of Pennsylvania did a comparison of 557 matched pairs and found recidivism at a higher rate among youth who had been tried in criminal court. Further, those from the adult facility recidivated more quickly and with more violence than those who had been adjudicated as juveniles.

Dangers of Incarcerating Youth With Adult Inmates

(www.buildingblocksforyouth.org/incarcerating_youth.htm.) provides anecdotal reports of things that have gone horrible wrong for youth put in jails, even for a short time.

(a) Boise, ID – a 17-year-old boy held in adult jail for failure to pay \$73 in traffic fines was tortured and finally murdered by other prisoners in his cell. (b) LaGrange, KY – a 15-year-old boy confined for refusing to obey his mother, took off his shirt tying one sleeve around his neck and the other around the bars of his cell and hung himself and (c) Ohio – a 17-year-old boy was murdered while incarcerated in the juvenile cellblock of an adult jail.

In 1974, Congress made funds available to states to improve their juvenile justice system through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. Conditions included an assurance those youth would be separated from adults in all stages of custody and that status offenders and non-offenders such as abused and neglected children would not be incarcerated. An amendment to the Act in 1980 required states to remove juveniles from adult facilities.

To shed further light on what the State of Florida (2002), Fagan (1996) and Myers (2001) found through research, Stack (2001) chronicled the experiences of a

young teenager in Pennsylvania through a series in the *Post-Gazette*. The young offender had done a crime determined by the state to be among those requiring adult court consideration. Because he was in jail for six months awaiting trial, his sentence of eleven months was reduced to six months in the county jail. (Only inmates whose sentences are longer than two years are housed in the state penitentiary.) If tried in youth court, the teenager could have been held for a little more than three years at a youth development center where job training, mental health practitioners and social services are all available. Additionally, when housed in adult facilities, teens are “more likely to predict they’ll commit new crimes when they get out” (Bishop, 2000).

Poe-Yamagata and Jones (2000) co-authors of the monograph, *And Justice for Some: Differential Treatment of Minority Youth in the Juvenile Justice System*, prepared by The National Council on Crime and Delinquency for the Building Blocks for Youth Initiative, looked at the disparity between the way African American and white youth are treated in the justice system.

African American youth are more likely to be waived to adult criminal court than white youth. This is true in all offense categories.

Table 2

Sentencing disparities between White and African American youth

Offence	White Youth	African American Youth
Offenses against persons Cases petitioned	57%	40%
Offenses against persons Cases waived to adult court	45%	50%
Drug arrests	59%	39%

Put another way – of the 7,400 new admissions to adult prisons under age 18, three of four were minorities. This overrepresentation by African Americans and under representation by the white community is true in nearly every state where juveniles are waived to adult facilities.

The sheer volume of at-risk youth admitted to state prisons, including all races, is astounding. The number more than doubled between 1985 and 1997 (Strom, Smith & Snyder, 2000). To make matters more tenuous, more states have adopted legislation to keep certain serious crimes out of juvenile court, or to give prosecutors the choice to have the case heard in juvenile or adult criminal court. This puts a drain on the prison system as the number of youth admitted to state prisons more than doubled between 1985 and 1997 (Strom, et al. 2000). Ironically, while there is a “sight and sound” separation provision under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act that prohibits juveniles from being within the sight or sound of adult inmates, it does not cover youth who are under the jurisdiction of adult criminal court.

Correctional Education

Steurer (1996) looked at effective correctional programs to help inmates develop problem-solving and decision-making skills they can use within the prison industry and in employment after their release. Samenow (1984) believes criminals who enroll in educational programs while in prison simply become better-educated prisoners. Without getting to the root of the reasons for criminal activity, there is no hope for lessening the number of prisoners who fall prey to recidivism.

In the best juvenile facilities, there is often a two-fold mental health and education component. Like adults, youth need to address the reasons behind their deviant behavior; they also need to acquire basic literacy skills.

Hendricks, Hendricks, and Kauffman, 2002, looked at the effects of a lack of literacy on criminal behavior and recidivism in *Literacy, Criminal Activity, and Recidivism*. The purpose of their investigation was to look at the relationship between literacy, criminal activity, and recidivism. The study included an examination of the literacy levels in a prison population and a comparison between that population's literacy and the literacy level of a comparable group of non-prisoners.

To gain an understanding of prison population literacy, Hodges, Giuliani and Porpotage (1994) looked at the results of a 1978 study funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. The study found the average prisoner functions at a ninth grade level but can read no higher than fourth grade level. Likewise, nearly 70% of inmates admitted to the Florida Department of Corrections had a literacy skill level of 8.9 or less (Florida Department of Corrections, 1997-98) and the state of Texas reported the average inmate has an IQ of 87 (Correctional Education Connections, 2002). The Center on Crime, Communities and Culture (1997) found 19% of adult inmates completely illiterate and 40% functionally illiterate.

To compare prisoner/non-prisoner populations, Hendricks, et al. used 1150 randomly selected inmates from 80 randomly selected federal and state prisons. The control group included 13,600 randomly selected adults over the age of 16 living in

households across the country. Looking at high school completion rate or its equivalent revealed that a little over 50% of inmates completed high school or GED studies whereas the figure for non-prisoners was over 76%. Further, Haigler, Harlow, O'Conner and Campbell (1992) found prisoners who completed high school did not score as high as non-prisoners on proficiency exams.

Measuring the effectiveness of correctional education, Hendricks et al. looked at a 1971 study of the California Department of the Youth Authority. The study examined gains in reading skills to see if they, in fact, lowered recidivism rates at three and fifteen months after parole. It was found that neither an increase in reading skills nor participation in remedial education was related to recidivism. Anderson, Anderson and Schumacker (1988), Beck and Shipley (1989), Holloway and Moke (1986), Porporino & Robinson (1992), Ramsey (1988) and others, all reviewed in Hendricks, et al., found life skills, aftercare, multi-agency collaboration - in conjunction with education - to be an effective means to reduce recidivism. Anderson et al. (1988) examined the relationship between vocational training and recidivism. They found those who received no vocational training had the highest criminal rate; the academic only group had the lowest employment rate, but the more education inmates received, the higher employment and lower crime rate they had. Beck et al. (1989) examined the recidivism rate of 16,000 prisoners from 11 states. Offenders with an eighth grade or less education were rearrested at a rate of 61.9%. Those with high school completion and some college were rearrested at 57.4% and 51.9% respectively. Holloway et al. (1986) compared recidivism rates of graduates of an associate degree program, randomly selected General Education Development

Certificate (GED) graduates both inside and outside prison, and inmates with no GED or high school education who were released during the same time period. They found that the more education one had, the more likelihood of finding employment upon release. Higher risk inmates did better with programs on recidivism and employment measures. Porporino et al. (1992) examined the impact of education and found a larger impact on higher risk than lower risk inmates. Their premise is the development of a new perspective: the possible rewarding outcomes of a non-criminal lifestyle. Finally, Ramsey examined the relationship between receiving a GED and recidivism and found those who had the GED were less likely to recidivate than those who did not receive a GED.

DelliCarpini (2003) argued for literacy programs citing data from the National Adult Literacy Study (NALS) indicating an 80% recidivism rate was reduced to 20% when incarcerated youth were involved in reading programs (U.S. Department of Education, 1992). DelliCarpini (2003) also investigated the numbers of Hispanic speaking youth who become part of the justice system. Writing for the National Center for English as a Second Language Literacy Education in *English Language Instruction for Incarcerated Youth* DelliCarpini (2003) cited a 1997 study (Hamparian & Leiber) showing an 84% increase of Latino youth in detention between the years 1983 and 1991 compared to 8% and 46% for white youth and youth overall, respectively.

Students who come from linguistically and culturally diverse (LCD) backgrounds find problems mount exponentially. DelliCarpini (2003) turned to a Hudson River Center study (1996) which showed in Suffolk County, New York,

Correctional Facilities, “100% of the linguistically and culturally diverse (LCD) incarcerated minors had literacy levels below a fourth grade equivalent in English and 90% had literacy levels below an eighth grade level in their native Spanish” (p. 2).

There are factors to consider when establishing programs for linguistically and culturally diverse youth in detention facilities. Collier and Thomas (2001) examined the need for primary language instruction in youth facilities and prisons. They found:

When resources are available, teaching academic subjects, technical skills, microcomputer use, vocational knowledge, and other important life skills through students’ primary language as well as second language is crucial to students’ chances for productive lives upon release and for avoiding re-incarceration (p. 1).

Sherman (2002) teaches English to inmates at Mecklenburg County Jail in Charlotte, North Carolina. Students in her ESL class were experiencing cross-cultural misunderstandings with other inmates and officers. A training class for officers was designed to address sensitive cultural issues including the importance of name and respect of religion.

Egbert (1989), author of *Building a foundation for teaching English in unconventional settings*, joins Collier and Thomas, and Sherman (2002) to suggest the following steps when working with linguistically and culturally diverse (LCD) students in correctional settings:

1. Make the learning environment is one of mutual respect. Have detainees from different countries speak about their cultural heritage.
2. Use motivational tools. The use of computers, simple gifts – they are meaningful to young offenders.

3. Use both basic skills instruction and functional literacy including reading a newspaper, sports magazine, or catalog.
4. Support native language development. Students who are proficient in their native tongue will do better when trying to learn the complexities of English.
5. Promote family literacy. Have young offenders who have children tape a children's book to send to their son or daughter. This accomplishes two goals: reading and connection.
6. Offer a variety of programs. A computer class may meet some needs. A hands-on automotive class may be what excites another learner. Not all youthful offenders will gravitate to success in the same way.

Transition back to society for one who has been incarcerated must be carefully planned. Since 1988, New York has seen a reduction in recidivism when young offenders go through their three-level program including academic proficiencies, transitional skills including job readiness, decision-making and parenting, and support services including social services, family connection centers and, drop-in facilities.

In a U.S. Department of Labor report (1999) *Employment and Training Administration: Pilot and Demonstration Projects*, three categories of Youth Offender Demonstration Projects were described. These programs were funded by a \$12.5 million Congressional grant awarded in July, 1999. In the first category – Model Communities Projects, youth participated in a combination of gang prevention, gang suppression, and alternative sentencing programs. Services were provided including assessment, counseling, and case management leading to skills and opportunities needed for gainful employment. In addition, high school completion or

GED, college preparation, and monies for education were made available. In some facilities life skills training, parent education, and daycare services were provided.

The second category – Juvenile Corrections Facilities, included an example of what Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Tallahassee, Florida have done to facilitate successful re-entry into the world of school and work for youthful offenders. The program includes (a) work-based and school-based learning, (b) job training, (c) job placement, and (d) further education. In the third category – Community-Wide Coordination Projects, grantees hoped to work with local youth service providers to develop programs for youthful offenders from 14 to 24 years of age. These programs will include better coordination between prevention and recovery services for these youth.

It appears the pilot program was a success as the Department of Labor moved into full implementation with funding of up to \$12 million for large cities, \$8 million for medium-sized cities and \$5 million for rural areas. In January, 2000, between 25 to 30 new grants were awarded. Finally, the U.S. Department of Justice (2000) issued a report on the establishment of a Task Force on Employment and Training for Court-Involved Youth to provide an effective strategy for “improving skills of court involved youth to enable them to enter the labor market and reduce youthful recidivism.”

The task force recognized many challenges lay ahead. They discovered a disconnect between the world of work and the world of youthful offenders wishing to one day join that world of work. Things that the task force looked at as specific challenges included an understanding of the diverse needs of delinquent youth,

identifying the best mix of employment strategies and training to provide the skills needed for young offenders to be successful, defining the roles and responsibilities of agencies who understand and work with at-risk youth, and recommending ways for the juvenile system, educational services and communities to work collaboratively for the benefit of young offenders.

Teacher Attributes

Whether a high school dropout or a magna cum laude graduate of Princeton or Yale, teachers make an impact. The ones remembered with fondness have qualities Taulbert (1997) includes in *Eight Habits of the Heart*. Teachers, who have a nurturing attitude, are dependable and responsible, extending friendship and a sense of brotherhood, pushing for high expectations of self and others, and possessing courage and hope. Sometimes, teacher attributes are not shared in the classroom per se. The relationship Mitch Albom (1997) shared with Morrie Schwartz of being humbled by a former teacher is not common but an attribute nonetheless. Teachers who look at themselves as part of the learning process, as illustrated by Max DePree (1992) in *Leadership Jazz* when he talks about everyone being a part of God's Mix, engender themselves to students. They are as one.

Beyond caring, there are teacher attributes of expert knowledge and the means to share that knowledge. Hattie (2003) seeks to find the variables in achievement, including teacher efficacy. He looks at what the different entities bring and how teaching, as a source of influence, is a critical component. The variance in student abilities is noted as is the influence of home, school (size, finances, class size), principals and peers, but teachers are at the pinnacle of student success. As he so

aptly states, “It lies in the person who gently closes the classroom door and performs the teaching act – the person who puts into place the end effects of so many policies, who interprets these policies, and who is alone with students during their 15,000 hours of schooling.” Hattie closes his discussion with 16 ways the ability of expert teachers far outweighs the factor of experience. In his opinion no amount of experience can make up for one’s attributes of expertise.

Volumes have been written about teacher attributes. Subjects will be asked to think about their teachers and share the attributes they remember.

Aftercare

Gies (2003), author of *Aftercare Services*, a bulletin from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) recognizes the work of David Altschuler and Troy Armstrong in the field of aftercare services. Together they have authored many of the aftercare publications distributed by the OJJDP. Altschuler and Armstrong (1994) see aftercare planning starting as soon as possible after a youth has been committed to a correctional facility. Of concern are the following: (a) how identified risk factors will be addressed through aftercare programming and supervision, (b) what need factors exhibited by these youth are tied to their social networks, including family, friends, peers, school, church, specialized treatment programs, and (c) how the total set of risks, needs, and associated circumstances of each youth will be addressed during the reintegration process.

Effective aftercare requires a seamless set of systems across formal and informal social control networks. It also requires a continuum of community services to prevent the recurrence of antisocial behavior, and it can involve both public and

private partnerships to expand the overall capacity of youth services (Gies, 2003).

The key difference between traditional care and effective aftercare is that the aftercare provides both services and supervision; in addition, the interventions begin shortly after the youth has begun incarceration, usually within thirty days.

Aftercare need is inevitable. Out-of-home adjudications rose from 105,600 in 1987 to 159,400 in 1996 (MacKenzie, 1999). Two areas of inquiry are integral to aftercare - effective interventions and community programs designed to prevent recurrence of criminal activities. For example, we expect young people released from incarceration to limit their drug use. But, if the community has no program for drug counseling and treatment, the youth has a poor chance of succeeding. To be effective, interventions must change behaviors. Andrews, Bonta, Cullen, Gendreau, Hoge, and Zinger (1990) enumerated successful interventions:

1. Targeting specific dynamic and criminogenic characteristics. Criminogenics refers to criminal attitudes, behaviors, interpersonal relations, etc. (Sherman, Bushway, Eck, Gottfredson, MacKenzie & Reuter, 1997).

2. Implementing a plan that is strictly adhered to by trained personnel.

Untrained personnel cannot help juveniles make effective changes. Personnel are going to have to become acquainted with both incarceration and community aspects. Turf wars between agencies cannot continue.

3. Requiring staff and offenders to make frequent contact. Bench warrants for probationers not making appointments are not valid contacts. The caseload for counselors will have to be cut drastically to give the required time for each youthful offender (Lipsey, 1992).

4. Using cognitive and behavioral treatments. Institutionalized offenders respond best to interpersonal skills programs in family-style group homes. Effective treatment for non-institutionalized offenders includes individual counseling, interpersonal skills training, and behavior programs.
5. Targeting offenders with the highest risk of recidivism. According to Andrews et al. (1990), students with the highest risk of recidivism will benefit the most from treatment.

Three Intensive Aftercare Programs (IAPs) were created in Colorado, Nevada and Virginia (Weibush, McNulty, and Le, 1998). Aside from identifying high-risk youth, Weibush et al. (1998) found collaborative practices including (a) aftercare case management, (b) team involvement, (c) planning for aftercare, and (d) creating strong ties with local support systems and accessing community services as integral to the process. Interagency collaboration is a key strategy. Walter and Petr (2000) concur finding that partnerships have mutual benefits, interdependence, and a commitment to working together for specific purposes and outcomes.

There are many prominent aftercare programs not the least of which are the Philadelphia Intensive Probation Aftercare Program, the Juvenile Aftercare in the Maryland Drug Treatment Program, the Skillman Intensive Aftercare Project, the Michigan Nokomis Challenge Program, and the Intensive Aftercare Program (IAP) model developed by Altschuler and Armstrong (1994). The following is a review of the IAP model.

The Intensive Aftercare Project consists of three distinct, yet overlapping, segments: (a) pre-release and preparatory planning during incarceration; (b)

structured transition that requires the participation of institutional and aftercare staff prior to and following community re-entry; and (c) long-term, re-integrative activities that ensure adequate service delivery and the necessary level of social control (Altschuler & Armstrong, 1996). The central component of the Intensive Aftercare Project model is case management. The authors identify five elements of case management that must be present:

1. Risk assessment and classification.
2. Individualized case planning that incorporates family and community perspectives. Plans need to be started soon after incarceration and continue through transition and community aftercare. More individualized programs will require more personnel.
3. A mix of intensive surveillance and services.
4. A balance of graduated incentives and consequences.
5. Links with community resources and social networks.

To be eligible for inclusion for case management oversight, a youth must:

1. Be male.
2. Have been committed to the custody of the state juvenile corrections agency.
3. Live in a selected county or counties.
4. Be placed at a specified juvenile correctional facility.
5. Be at high risk for re-offending (based on the results of a site-specific risk assessment instrument).

In closing the article the author (Gies, 2003) provided a list of resource organizations including the American Correctional Association, American Probation and Parole Association, Juvenile Reintegration and Aftercare Center, National Center

on Education, Disability and Juvenile Justice, and the National Institute of Corrections. Resources for assessment tools to determine risk and needs are also included.

Goodstein and Sontheimer (1997) wrote a case study in review of the IAP, *The Implementation of an Intensive Aftercare Program for Serious Juvenile Offenders: A Case Study*. The study evaluated the Intensive Aftercare Program for juveniles developed by the Juvenile Probation Department of the Family Court of Philadelphia. In their findings, Goodstein and Sontheimer noted the pleasure of IAP probation officers who spent more time with youth and were able to avert the occurrence of more serious offenses if a relapse was apparent. If it were necessary to return a youth to a correctional facility, it was done because removal from the community is within the guidelines of the program and it was deemed the best choice for that youth. Success for participants is shown by the reduction by half of the number of offenses in the IAP group as opposed to those in a less intense aftercare program.

In the implications of the study Goodstein and Sontheimer (1997) noted two factors that account for a reduction of offenses committed by the experimental groups: (a) the increased knowledge about the youth in their caseload given to the officers and (b) the ability of the probation officers to spend considerable time with youth in trying to redirect their activities. The success of the IAP is also due in part to the judge who guided the program back with carefully crafted alternatives when officers' caseloads were increased and they felt pressured to return to issuing bench warrants instead of seeking out the offender for personal attention. Implementation

of the IAP program for serious offenders does not occur without hard work. It reflects a cultural change for probation officers, juvenile court judges, and the probationers themselves. Ideally, Goodstein and Sontheimer (1997) would like to see the program implement behavior changes to the degree that youthful offenders would not be tempted to return to criminal behavior.

Altschuler and Armstrong (2001) *Reintegrating High-Risk Juvenile Offenders into Communities: Experiences and Prospects*, looked at a seamless delivery system that involved community follow-up to the intensive aftercare services provided by corrections. “The intent is to have community-based aftercare services parallel those that are first initiated in the institution and institutional services geared to achieve essentially the same purposes as those that will be achieved in the community” (p. 77). When youth are continually under surveillance and social controls (drug testing, electronic monitoring) to restrict their activities and movement, the indication is that there isn’t any change in the recidivism rate nor are improvements shown in behavior. Altschuler and Armstrong (2001) envision including IAP models throughout the country via a central clearinghouse. Funding through the OJJDP’s Juvenile Accountability Incentive Block Grants (JAIBG) whose administrators see the value of using highly structured, intensive aftercare with high-risk juvenile offenders leads to hope for future success.

Reference to adult re-entry is included in this review, due in large part because of the adult, male population being interviewed for the paper. In *Re-entry reconsidered: A new look at an old question*, authors Travis and Petersilia (2001) first profiled re-entering prisoners. The number of prisoners participating in pre-

release planning did not increase between the years 1991 and 1997 but it remained stable at 12%. This is the price to pay for prison expansion – “less treatment, fewer skills, less exposure to the world of work, and less focused attention on planning for a smooth transition to the outside world” (p. 300).

Mumola (1999) writing for the Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice in January 1999 (NCJ 172871) cites the admission by 51% of all prisoners that they were under the influence of drugs or alcohol when they committed their current offense as a warning that drugs and alcohol are still a major concern in corrections. Also a concern cited by Mumola (2000) and Beck (2000a) in Bureau of Justice Statistic reports (NCJ 182335 and 183476, respectively) is the high occurrence of African Americans in prison and its impact on families. Knowing that seven percent of all African American children have a parent in prison and knowing an African American male has a twenty-nine percent chance of being incarcerated at least once during his lifetime, six times higher than that for white males, paints a bleak picture (Beck, 2000a). The community also suffers because it loses valued workers. Jobs, however, are not always waiting for a prisoner’s release. Nagin and Waldfogel (1998) found the loss of employment opportunities particularly harsh for released inmates past the age of thirty.

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is an arm of the U. S. Department of Justice. Information about it is included here because of the vast resources it provides. The Latest Resources from OJJDP (2003) included a list of publications to be ordered or downloaded in the following subject areas: child

protection, corrections, courts, delinquency prevention, gangs, general resources, substance abuse, and violence and victimization. Their website allows users access to an electronic newsletter and to an abstracts database useful to research.

Fact sheets provide immediate access to a wide variety of information. For example, in *Most arrested juveniles were referred to court*, the reader can readily see how many juveniles were processed following arrest. In 2000, 20% were handled within law enforcement agencies, 71% were referred to juvenile court, and 7% were adjudicated in criminal court. The others went to a welfare agency or another police jurisdiction. The FBI and U. S. Bureau of Census provided data on weapons violations and murder (not much change between 1980 and 2000), arrest rates for drug abuse (soared in the mid-90's), rates for simple assault (did not decline substantially in the latter part of the 90's), and juvenile vandalism (lowest level in two decades).

Annual reports are more comprehensive. Pertinent to this study is the establishment of a *Very Young Offenders Study Group* (Loeber et al., 2003). Discovering that most chronic juvenile offenders begin their criminal careers before the age of twelve and some as early as age ten prompted this assemblage of a panel of thirty-nine researchers. In preparation for their report, members of the panel secured input from more than 100 practitioners, and identified specific risk and protective factors that are critical to developing early intervention and protection programs for very young offenders.

Data collection is an integral part of any governmental agency. The OJJDP is no exception. It has been collecting information for nearly thirty years on the number

of juveniles held in detention and other facilities. Up to 1995 data was gathered through the biennial Census of Public and Private Juvenile Detention, Correctional and Shelter Facilities, also known as Children in Custody (CIC). In 1997, OJJDP began a new data collection effort, the Census of Juveniles in Residential Placement (CJRP). Another data collection effort began in 2000 named the Juvenile Residential Facility Census. This census collects information about the facilities rather than the residents. For information about residents in out-of-home placement, all information can be found in the OJJDP Fact Sheet *Juvenile Court Placement of Adjudicated Youth, 1990-1999*. The work of the OJJDP informs government agencies, youth probation, youth court judges, and schools. The monetary cost of youth corrections, however, still has a burgeoning effect.

Related Costs of Treatment Programs

An issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* (December, 2002) presents one unexpected aspect of cost: the view of at-risk children as an industry. Non-profit and public agencies were formerly the main caregivers for at-risk youth. The road to privatization was paved by class-action lawsuits in the 1970s and 1980s, which forced many abusive government-run mental health institutions to shut down. At the same time the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 awarded large contracts to states to develop youth programs to keep young delinquents away from the seasoned veterans in our nation's prisons. As the number of children who were formerly held in treatment centers grew, juvenile detention facilities and orphanages burgeoned into many more, making it a gold mine for private firms who saw the

provisions of the 1996 Welfare Reform Act allowing them to tap into child welfare monies as a boon.

Documentation of the effects of this new industry is included in the SunTrust report (1997). In its 45-pages, *At-Risk Youth...A Growth Industry*, it was estimated public spending could go as high as \$50 billion. In one section of the report, a diagram called the *Privatization Spectrum* showed how companies could “profit as children cycled from the schoolhouse to the jailhouse, passing through one publicly funded, privately run facility after another” (p. 38). Students in special education were the big money raisers. Theirs was a \$32 billion market. Next in line was child welfare netting a mere \$12-\$15 billion. Juvenile justice is not to be left out. They were worth at least \$3.5 billion. As is common during any gold rush, it doesn’t always go as planned. Many private firms found projected windfalls vaporized.

Of the companies that were able to turn a huge profit, three are included in the *Atlantic’s* discussion: Correctional Services Corporation (CSC), Ramsay Youth Services and Children’s Comprehensive Services (CCS). The Children’s Comprehensive Services 350-bed facility was one of the nation’s largest but it couldn’t produce the “reformed, treated youth” it promised (p. 38). Instead, it was found to be lacking in staff training and use of “unnecessary and improper force” (p. 38). Children’s Comprehensive Services was guilty of more than mistreatment. Although it was paid \$2.5 million to improve the education of students, it closed classes whenever it was deemed necessary and kept youth on the rolls to insure their “head count” was where it should be to gain the most profit. Children’s Comprehensive Services was functioning in fourteen states including Montana.

Incidents at the Montana facility helped expose problems at Children's Comprehensive Services. Within a fifteen-day period in 1998, two suicides and three attempts drew the concern of the State. The lawsuit brought by the State of Montana cited chronic understaffing as the cause of the suicides and the attempts of children to take their lives; three independent outside agencies concurred.

Ramsay Youth Services, based in Coral Gables, Florida, was begun as a chain of psychiatric hospitals. The CEO, Luis Lamela was quoted as saying, "It's a product-to-market approach. We view everything as a product. Treating children is essentially no different from manufacturing widgets" (p. 39).

Three Springs, another Alabama private treatment center, was joined with Children's Comprehensive Services and Ramsay as clients of the Bloom Group, a powerful Montgomery lobbying firm. The Department of Youth Services director at the peak of privatization, James Dupree, joined the Bloom Group as a lobbyist after retiring from his DYS position in September, 1998. Exemplary non-profit organizations are still helping at-risk youth. The Youth Environment Services (YES) program has a staffing pattern of one adult to three youth. They have no fences or locked doors. Rehabilitation is their main goal. Trust is an integral part of the process.

Monetary considerations include the for-profit agencies discussed above and also the cost to the American people to keep prisoners in locked up facilities. Mark Cohen, Senior Associate Dean and Justin Potter Professor of American Competitive Business in the Owen Graduate School of Management at Vanderbilt University has written extensively on the monetary cost of crime. In *The Monetary Value of Saving*

a High Risk Youth (1998), Cohen estimates the “present discounted value of the external marginal costs imposed by the career criminal, heavy drug user, and high-school dropout” (p. 6). For purposes of this paper, the career criminal is the only one considered.

An external cost is defined as “action taken by one person that negatively affects another person in society, where that person does not voluntarily accept this negative consequence. An example would be the ‘external’ costs associated with a violent armed robbery including stolen property, medical costs, lost wages, and pain and suffering endured by the victim” (p 6). Cohen does not consider here the pain, suffering and lost quality of life suffered by the perpetrator of crime. Marginal costs do not include costs such as “fear of crime, private security expenses, taking a cab instead of walking or changing one’s lifestyle. We exclude these costs since they are not affected by any one criminal’s actions” (p. 8). Cohen uses a discount rate of two percent per year. This is close to the figure economists use when considering lost wages for personal injury or wrongful death compensation. If the figure is too low, the dollar amounts in the study will be too high. Conversely, if the figure is too high, the dollar amounts in the study will be too low.

A career criminal is one who engages in a variety of crimes over many years flirting with the risk of being arrested, convicted and put behind bars. Cohen uses the formula below to indicate the external costs of a criminal career.

$$\sum_{ij} (1-\beta)^{j-1} \lambda_{ij} [VC_i + CJ_i + CI * T_i + W * T_i]$$

where

λ = mean number of offenses

VC = victim cost of crime

CJ = cost of criminal justice investigation, arrest, adjudication

CI = cost of incarceration (days)

T = average time served (days)

β = discount rate

W = opportunity cost of offender's time

i = crime 1 through crime I

j = year 1 through year J of crime

VC_i = average cost to victim for each type of crime

CJ_i = average criminal justice cost per crime

CI * T_i = average cost of incarceration per crime

W * T_i = opportunity cost of incarceration as measured by a convicted offender's legitimate wages

Estimates of the number of offenses committed by youthful offenders are one to four crimes per year from age fourteen to seventeen. The cost to victims of a criminal's acts throughout his or her career is \$165,000. Thirty-five percent is related to tangible costs. The remaining sixty-five percent is the monetary value of lost quality of life to victims. The criminal justice related costs are "based on the probability of an offender ending up at each stage of the criminal justice system, multiplied by criminal justice costs for each stage" (p. 11). Forgone earnings of career criminals is based on "the average of 8 years in jail or prison; the total forgone earnings of career criminals due to incarceration is \$60,000" (p. 11). The present value of the total external costs of a life of crime is from "approximately \$1.5 to \$1.8 million dollars. Broken down it amounts to 25% tangible costs, 50% loss of quality

of life, 20% criminal justice costs and 5% offender productivity losses. Considering career criminals, heavy drug users and high-school dropouts, the present value of saving a single high-risk youth is between \$1.7 and \$2.3 million” (p. 17).

Finally, Cohen (1998) cautions the reader to put things into perspective. For example a program for 100 youth that costs \$500,000 (\$5,000 per youth) in terms of one child would be more cost effective than the \$1.7 to \$2.3 million spent or lost on a life of crime. It would not be cost effective to save one child from dropping out of high school because the value of dropping out of high school for one student would not be equal to \$500,000.

Programs to help youthful offenders must be effective both from a cost basis and treatment efficacy. The study, *Cost Effectiveness of Teaching Family Programs for Delinquents* (Weinrott, Jones & Howard, 1982) was undertaken in part to compare the cost and efficacy of the Teaching Family Model (TFM) compared with community-based, behaviorally oriented group homes because of TFM’s claims of being able to provide for delinquency treatment on therapeutic grounds at a lesser cost.

TFM was begun as *Achievement Place* under the auspices of the National Institute of Mental Health. Young people coming to the program are from the community in which it is based. They attend their home school but participate in a comprehensive, behaviorally oriented, residential program. They are encouraged to participate in community activities and may visit their own family on weekends.

There are between 5-8 children in each TFM facility. A young married couple, teaching parents, who look after both clinical and administrative aspects of

the program, oversees each facility. The premise of TFM is that it can help prevent future deviant behavior by providing students with adults who have “high reinforcement value.” The teaching parents mete out consequences for both positive and negative behaviors and teach social, academic and self-care skills (Braukmann, Kirigin & Wolf, 1980). Student behavior is based on a point motivation system. Teaching parents undergo rigorous training through workshops at one of four regional facilities ensuring a homogenous approach. However, aftercare upon release is not systematic nor is it thorough.

The authors were interested in examining the TFM program. It espouses an empirical approach to process and consumer evaluation but only two summative studies have been published showing youth outcomes. Braukmann, et al. (1980) did a study that shows youths in TFM facilities committed fewer criminal offenses while in treatment than those in community programs. In addition, the age at which TFM program participants committed their first offense was later than the comparison group. This has been shown by researchers at the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to have a critical impact.

The TFM sample consisted of programs that: served delinquent or pre-delinquent boys and girls from twelve through sixteen who were willing to participate in the independent evaluation. The community based programs: were located in or adjacent to a community in which there was a TFM program, served similar youth and received referrals from the same sources as did the corresponding TFM program. A total of 354 TFM sites and 363 community-based programs took part. Data was gathered at intake, during treatments and following completion of treatment.

The choice of a cost-effectiveness model was made over cost-benefit because of the difficulty of determining the value of benefits that cannot be easily measured. The first measure examined was operating costs. Rental equivalents were included in the operating budget in lieu of mortgage payments and a depreciation allowance. The 1977 operating expenses for TFM and community-based programs were \$50,945 and \$85,920, respectively. Indirect costs for these programs included: donation, social, and juvenile court services. School adjustment was \$9.037 for each TFM student and \$11.068 for each student in a comparison facility.

There are no relevant differences between the TFM program and comparison facility when considering capacity, number of youths in residence, percentage capacity, and percentage time operating at full capacity. Occupancy costs favored the TFM facilities because they operated at nearly 80% capacity while the community-based programs were at 75%. Length of stay was six weeks less for TFM youths. Per diem costs ranged from \$13.43 to \$51.79 with a mean of \$29.04 for TFM facilities. Comparable costs for community-based programs were \$6.33 to \$54.90 with a mean of \$31.85. The cost per youth is calculated from the per diem cost and length of stay. The average FY77 cost of \$8,460 for TFM outbids figures for community-based models at \$10,898.

Beyond numbers of students and time of stay, change of personnel and its impact on residents must be considered. A change in the married couple that serves as parent teachers in the TFM homes has a more profound impact than a change of personnel in the community-based program.

Academic success was measured as GPA on a 4.0 scale. Neither group was stellar: TFM youths completed 89% of course work for a mean GPA of 1.7. Community-based youth completed 86% of course work for a mean GPA of 1.4. “Only 45% of youths in both samples completed their respective programs. Thirteen percent failed to function adequately; 10% ran away and didn’t come back; 9% were removed by the court for serious or repeated offenses and 23% left for reasons not related to treatment” (p. 197). Further, 40% of youths in both samples were later high school dropouts and fewer than 20% had earned a GED by age eighteen.

Output measures included the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale given twelve months after discharge. There was very little difference between those who dropped out and those who completed the program after the first post-treatment year. About 40% of both groups were committed to a “closed institution” at least once during the follow-up period.

TFM programs are less expensive and appear to have better results. The researchers conclude they could be even better if teaching parents are on the job for a minimum of one year, and are fully certified. Additionally, teaching parents who devote the most time to therapeutic activities appear to graduate youths with fewer post treatment offenses and better grades.

Summary

The Review of Related Literature followed a chronological course from infancy to the adjudication process. Considerable time was spent on early childhood issues as this population of young disruptive children has received relatively little attention in terms of clinical research (Keenan & Wakschlag, 1999). After early

childhood and language development, parenting issues were reviewed along with prevention and intervention ideas. Literature about the number of special education students entrenched in the court system is burgeoning. There are many issues within that category not all of which can be addressed in the scope of this paper. Prediction literature was included because it is through accurate prediction that effective intervention measures can be applied. Truancy and mobility, issues related to prediction of delinquency, were not left out. Nor were facets of correctional education and teacher attributes. The problem of incarcerating youth with adults is ever growing with the number of youthful offenders being remanded to adult court. Aftercare, something that begins soon after intake was well documented including the high cost of best practice. The work of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a resource for future quick reference work. The Bulletin on very early childhood issues would be a good start for primary teachers to know about interventions and ways to put very young offenders back in the mainstream of childhood.

Inmates with their wealth of information about what worked and what didn't work for them will supplement this body of literature in a unique way.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Research Design

The qualitative method allowed the voice of subjects to be heard in rich, full descriptions of their pre-incarceration experiences. Semi-structured interview questions allowed subjects the ability to mold and shape their responses in a manner truly unique to them. The ability to capture nuances of language and meaning through their descriptions focused the study on social and human problems remembered by inmates. Creswell (1998) suggests a qualitative study is needed when there has been no exploration of a given topic. There is a dearth of studies based on prison inmate perceptions of pre-incarceration experiences. A qualitative study was also in order when it was imperative subjects be interviewed in their natural setting. In this instance there was no choice as the volunteers in the study were inmates in a maximum-security prison from which they could not go unless to a doctor or work detail. Finally, a qualitative study was most appropriate based on the nature of the research question that asked for suggestions or ideas. No statistics were employed. The research question is:

What suggestions or ideas do inmates at Montana State Prison have regarding ways schools, homes and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest?

The research tradition chosen was a grounded theory, the centerpiece of which was the “development or generation of a theory closely related to the context of the phenomenon being studied” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The researcher had no *a priori* conceptions about the results of the findings and did everything possible from letting any personal bias come into the study. The essence of the grounded theory was to gather and compare data during open coding. Categories emerged from the open coding. The goal was to add more data until all categories had sufficient saturation to assure the category was dimensionalized, or had information that represented the extremes of the category.

The investigator identified the central phenomenon from the saturated categories and looked for causal conditions and strategies that resulted from the central phenomenon. Consequences from the strategies were developed during axial coding. The last step was the development of a story line related to the central phenomenon. The theory developed during this selective coding was a substantive-level theory meaning the researcher was close to a specific problem, and, in this instance, one seen through the eyes of volunteers who wanted to participate in the study.

Research Questions

Interview questions were relatively open-ended yet focused on a specific topic and were guided by general questions (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Creswell, 1994). They were framed in terms of “tell me about” rather than direct questions. This gave subjects more control over the direction of their responses and was suitable for adult incarcerated subjects. The number of questions followed the guidelines of Siedman

(1991) who suggested an unlimited number of questions be allowed. This study focused questions on sub-questions as they delineated school, non-school, and adjudication issues. As sub-questions were answered, they in turn answered the more composite central question.

Central Question

Creswell (1994) defined a central question as “a statement of the question being examined in the study in its most general form” (p. 70). Its most general form allows flexibility and modification of the question during the course of the study.

The proposed central question was:

What suggestions or ideas did inmates at the Montana State Prison have regarding ways schools, homes and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to later adjudication or arrest?

Sub-questions

Sub-questions used in support of the central question included:

1. What new or continuing issues related to the educational experience did inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history?
2. What new or continuing issues related to other non-educational experiences in their lives did inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history?
3. What factors in their adjudication history emerged from inmates' perspective as the most prominent?

The sub-questions and the central question were answered from the data gathered in the interviews at Montana State Prison. The literature review from Chapter Two supported the study. It followed a timeline from infancy and early childhood to adolescent at-risk behaviors. Respondents moved back and forth between infancy and adolescence as new questions triggered responses to ones previously asked. Montana State Prison includes group therapy as an integral part of treatment in the Intensive Therapy Unit (ITU) encouraging inmates to talk about youthful experiences and how they have impacted adult decisions. Some of the interview questions paralleled the work done in the ITU.

Some subjects were in the ITU program because of a judge's mandate. Others applied for the program to understand their addiction problems in hopes they will not go back to drugs and alcohol once they leave Montana State Prison. In the therapy sessions inmates were required to read *Inside the Criminal Mind* (Samenow, 1984), write a life history paper and outline the crime cycle leading to their current placement. This experience gave inmates an opportunity to explore early childhood and school issues. Emerging themes about home, school and community issues were gleaned from the interviews to shed light on the sub-questions of the study. All subjects were in the Intensive Therapy Unit program.

Sub-questions and supporting arguments for interview questions related to the sub-questions are given below.

Sub-question #1: What new or continuing issues relating to the educational experience did inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history?

Sergiovanni (1996) asked schools to “look at themselves through a moral lens, and consider how virtually everything that goes on there affects the values and character of students.” Lickona (1993) called upon teachers to act as caregivers, models, and mentors. He asked them to create a moral community and to practice moral discipline themselves. Alfie Kohn (1999) saw grades, standardized tests, academic contests, segregation of students by performance abilities, and rewards from gold stars to scholarships as part of an anti-learning environment. Learning in a moral community with teachers acting as caregivers, models and mentors, not concerned with standardized test scores or letter grades, presents a model of a school climate against which inmates reflected their own experiences. Interview questions 1-6 related to school issues.

Interview question #1: Tell me about the different schools you attended.

Moving from school to school in different states and different towns within the same state puts a strain on a child’s ability to form lasting friendships. This question was designed to elicit conversation about what events surrounded the move from school to school. Subjects were encouraged to think about how welcoming the new school was and how the change from one school’s curriculum to another affected their ability to be successful.

Interview question #2: Tell me about your attendance at school.

Good attendance helps students move forward in classes and helps them establish a place in the social structure of the school. When a student’s attendance falters, it can be a red flag about a host of issues – parents don’t value attendance, school is not a comfortable place for the child to be, or success is not being met in the

classroom. Lack of attendance for children with at-risk behaviors heightens a student's feeling of not belonging. Oftentimes, the sense of belonging is fulfilled by gang membership or other aversive group activity. Conversations with students as a friend, advocate, teacher, and principal support the above conclusions.

Interview question #3: Tell me about special education classes you may have been in.

The set of seven monographs, written as a joint project of the Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice and The National Center on Education, Disability, and Juvenile Justice (2003), elucidate in many ways the preponderance of special education students in the judicial system and the difficulties they have negotiating that system. A preponderance of special education class experiences of subjects in this study supported this premise.

Interview question #4: Tell me about teachers.

The answer to this question can inform teachers, administrators and parents about effective teaching. It addresses the issues of teachers who take time to re-teach, or illustrate the problem in yet another way, or provide structure to an otherwise unstructured life. It also sheds light on the experiences of prisoners who found school to be a very negative place, due in part to school climate, teachers they had, and the instruction that was given to them.

Interview Question #5: Tell me about teacher attributes.

This question elicited feelings about what teachers did or how they worked with students that made them someone remembered, either positively or negatively.

Interview Question #6: Tell me about suggestions you have for schools to help keep young people from entering the juvenile justice system and moving on to adult incarceration.

Inmates knew what worked and what didn't work for them in school. They remembered their cries for help that were unheeded. They weren't able to keep up academically and didn't know how to ask for help. They wanted to play on the athletic team but didn't have the tools to stop smoking and drinking and they couldn't find anyone who would help them. There were a myriad of issues and suggestions inmates had.

Sub-question #2: What new or continuing issues relating to other non-educational experiences in their lives did inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history.

Temperament is one of several non-educational precursors to delinquency delineated in Chapter One and supported by the literature in Chapter Two.

Temperament relates to biologically based individual differences that predispose children to act in a certain way (Goldsmith et al., 1987). It is not expressed in a vacuum; stimuli that evoke temperamental responses are part of the equation. For example, if a child has a predisposition toward anger, expression of that anger will be lessened the longer a child is shielded from anger provoking stimuli (Goldsmith et al., 1987). Low attachment to caregivers is another indicator, especially for boys (Loeber, et al. 2003). Delayed language development is an antecedent to delinquency as it may result in acting out behaviors. Again, it affects mostly boys who are oftentimes socially ostracized for their actions (Loeber, 2003). Undiagnosed mental

health issues may be dormant for many years and then come to the surface in adolescence with an unfair vengeance (Osher et al., 2002). Interview questions 7-8 relate to non-educational issues.

Interview Question #7: Tell me about your family.

How many brothers and sisters did you have? Where were you in the order of children? Large families are among family characteristics that may contribute to early-onset child delinquency (Loeber, Farrington & Petechuk, 2003). Beyond family size and placement, issues related to divorce, death, physical or mental maltreatment in the home, and how the people in their lives dealt with adversity – these were concerns inmates were encouraged to share. This question took more time than most as subjects replayed childhood tapes that have become twisted with time. When talking about family issues, inmates were predisposed to share childhood abuses and neglect. They drew on these experiences, in addition to school themes, to make their suggestions for teachers. Again, they knew the red flags because many of them were at one time waving them.

Interview Question #8: Tell me about the place(s) where you grew up.

The response to this question was often answered in many of the earlier questions. It was placed here to assure the question is answered fully.

Sub-question #3: What factors in their adjudication history emerged from inmates' perspective as the most prominent?

The issue of incarceration as juveniles or with adults was discussed at length in the related literature. Satchel (2002) went up against legislative bodies in 47 states and the District of Columbia to argue that young offenders are not helped by harsh

treatment and being incarcerated with adults. She cited the atrocities that have happened when teens were jailed with adults even for a short time. Although it has been nearly thirty years since funds were made available for states to make improvements in their juvenile justice systems on the condition youth would be separated from adults in all phases of custody, it hasn't happened in all instances (http://www.buildingblocksforyouth.org/incarcerating_youth.htm). Another issue is race discrimination. Poe-Yamagata and Jones (2000) looked at a comparison of cases petitioned and cases waived to adult court and found major disparities. Interview question #9 relates to adjudication history.

Interview Question #9: Tell me what brought you here.

By starting to talk about what brought them to Montana State Prison, the door was opened for talking about other times they were at the prison or earlier lock-down facilities as youth. Some told me about exemplary programs and aftercare that kept them from recidivism – at least for a while. Others told about experiences in juvenile detention where they learned more effective criminal behaviors. The gamut was wide.

Participants

The participants for this study were adult male volunteers who were in the Intensive Therapy Unit for drug and alcohol addiction at Montana State Prison. Subjects facilitated the expansion of a developing theory (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). All subjects were volunteers and signed release forms to prevent any claim of liability. Before volunteering, groups of inmates were able to hear about the project and ask questions of the researcher. Most inmates were on the low side of the prison

meaning they were not a threat to others; if they were moved to the high side because of fighting or other grievances against another, and were considered a valuable subject for the study, the researcher petitioned to have access to those interviews.

Interview Protocol Procedures

1. All interviews took place at Montana State Prison on days when a guard was available to accompany the researcher to the interview site.
2. All interviews took place between 4:00 P.M and 5:30 P.M. on weekdays and from 9:00 A.M to 5:30 P.M. on Saturday and Sunday. The Montana State Prison established the 5:30 deadline for inmate lockdown. Currently, protocol at the prison was left up to the guard on duty. In an earlier study, the researcher found some guards allowed prisoners to remain with the researcher during lockdown at 5:30 P.M. as long as their whereabouts was known. Other guards did not let conversations go beyond 5:30 P.M. The times as directed by the guard of the day were respected.
3. All interviews were audio taped. The researcher needed to be engaged in a conversation with prisoners to establish and keep an all-important element of trust. Using a tape player allowed eye contact during all parts of the conversation.
4. Using pre-interview chosen initials protected the anonymity of informants.
5. Participants had the right to voluntarily withdraw from the study at any time.

6. The privacy of prisoners was respected. If there were other prisoners in the hallway using the phones, or ironing board or visiting loudly, the door to the interview was partially closed if the counselor's office was being used. Again, from the earlier six-subject study, the researcher found protocol differed according to the guards on duty. Some did not want the researcher in the counselor's office at all because it is a room to which they had no immediate access if it were locked by an inmate from the inside and from which the researcher had no escape. For them, it was easier to have interviews take place in a room down a short hall from the "cage" where guards stay. This room had glass windows; guards did not hear the conversation but they saw what was going on. Others left it up to the researcher to decide where the best interview could take place.

Data Collection

Because subjects were a protected class of citizens, every precaution was taken to fully inform them about the study, maintain anonymity, and assure no repercussions for withdrawal from the study. Before beginning this study, approval from The University of Montana Institutional Review Board (IRB) was sought. Permission from Montana State Prison had already been obtained from a prior study at the prison (see Appendix F).

Data collection was through face-to-face semi-structured interviews with prisoners at the Montana State Prison. No other person was in attendance to assure privacy and anonymity of information. Volunteers came from the Intensive Therapy

Unit therapy groups. A participant consent form was signed before an interview with a subject took place.

The gatekeepers were those whose approval was obtained in order to do the study (Creswell, 1998). They included the warden, therapists, the officer at the command post who informed the researcher about the availability of a guard, the officer at the checkpoint, the officer at the receiving area, the appointed guard for the day and guards at the unit where the interviews took place.

Transcripts of interviews with coded identification of inmates were shared with dissertation chair, Dr. Roberta Evans.

Data Analysis

Semi-structured interviews were transcribed into data and processed using analytic induction. Analytic induction is best used when the researcher is collecting data for analysis and using it for the development of a theory (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Grounded theory research calls for analysis of the data at the same time more data is being obtained; this will allow modification of the overarching research question and sub-questions during the research process (Creswell, 1998). Coding was done as data were collected.

The coding followed the design offered in *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions* (Creswell, 1998). The method advanced by Corbin and Strauss (1998) using open, axial and selective coding was employed. The suggested “constant comparative” approach (Corbin & Strauss, 1998) where the researcher continually looks for more information to saturate categories and dimensionalize properties (sub-categories) was ongoing throughout data collection.

Accuracy of information, generalizability, and replication of findings were dependent on the quality of the research in the study. Triangulation of data helped ensure validity of the study (Jick, 1979). The means of triangulation included multiple interviews, review of taped interviews, and return to the subject if for any reason doubt about meaning occurred. The warden was given a summary page.

Generalizability is the ability of the study to be generalized to other like situations. This was important to the researcher in light of future anticipated studies in other prison facilities. Generalizability to a facility for women prisoners was not applicable as things such as marital discord and attachment to caregiver are more indicative of future criminality for young boys than for young girls (Keenan & Wakslag, 1999). Transference to other facilities for men, however, was expected. Eisner (1991) put the responsibility on intelligent practitioners as he suggested, “no generalization can fit an individual context perfectly – modification is always necessary. The modification requires judgment on the part of intelligent practitioners. In the end, it is practitioners, the users of ideas, who must determine whether the ideas that are available are appropriate for their situation” (p. 212).

Role of the Researcher

The Role of the Researcher could have been problematic because of researcher bias and because as Bogdan and Biklan (1992) suggested, “the data must ‘go through’ the researcher’s mind before they put it on paper” (p. 46). The researcher tried to eliminate *a priori* conceptions about the results of the findings and at all times did everything possible from letting any personal bias come into the study.

The researcher of this study has been a junior high principal for nine years and was a teacher at elementary, junior high and undergraduate college levels for twenty years prior to assuming duties as a principal. In addition, a period of four years in technical writing gave the researcher a better understanding of accuracy in reporting and a terminal degree in musical analysis gave the researcher skills to code massive amounts of transcripts. Coursework at The University of Minnesota and The University of Montana in educational leadership provided much additional insight into the many facets of research.

Prior to beginning this study the researcher worked on a related project at Montana State Prison interviewing prisoners, transcribing tapes, and coding data. All necessary security measures to satisfy the State of Montana Correctional Facilities regulations were done. Working through the gatekeepers from warden to guards at the unit was also done.

Summary

The study employed the development of a grounded theory, a qualitative research design, to develop a new way of looking at how the rich, informed language of inmates at the Montana State Prison will shed light to parents and educators about how best to address at-risk behaviors today. Data were collected through semi-structured one-on-one taped interviews at the prison. A journal was kept to track visits, triangulation, verification and member checking of data collected.

Data collected, transcribed, coded and analyzed was used to report the findings of the study in Chapter Four. Coding followed the prescription offered in Creswell (1998) who incorporates the work of Strauss and Corbin (1990).

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS FROM THE QUALITATIVE INQUIRY

The new Montana State Prison is located west of town; the old red stone facility is on Main Street open for public tours. To find the new prison a visitor turns west at the only stoplight in the community of Deer Lodge. The road goes through some poorer neighborhoods and serves as a bridge across the creek that goes through town. It winds past the cemetery and the community golf course. A mile or so past the golf course is a large red sign reminding all who go forward that the prison is at the end of the road and no firearms, tobacco or alcohol are allowed. The last big turn leads to the guardhouse where cars are inspected, papers are examined, calls are made, and questions are asked about the purpose of one's visit. Sunday afternoon is a good time for family members to come and be with their loved ones. The guard will receive visiting cars precisely at 2:00 P.M. Anyone arriving earlier must turn around just before the guardhouse and take their place at the end of the long line of cars. Once past the guardhouse the road goes by the area where punishment for capital crimes is meted out before turning into the large parking lot. Upon entry at the visitor site, all comers fill out a pink card indicating the name and cellblock of the one they wish to see. Once past the metal detector, hands are stamped with an invisible ink that will glow when placed under the hand grid just past the first locked door. Shoes are removed followed by a pat down, and plastic bags with diapers and baby food are inspected. Guards examine the pink cards and escort visitors to the indicated area. On more than one occasion one of the pink cards was shoved in my hand with someone telling me it has to be filled out before you can go see someone. Not

wanting to make them feel badly, I sometimes filled out the card with a fictitious name.

This study was guided by the general research question: What suggestions or ideas do prison inmates have regarding ways schools, homes, and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest? This section contains data and an analysis of those data as they related to the research question.

Thirty male subjects were purposely selected for this study and were interviewed over a six-month period at Unit B of the Montana State Prison. All subjects were incarcerated felons at the prison enrolled in group therapy sessions for drug and alcohol abuse; they lived in a section of housing specifically for Intensive Therapy Unit (ITU) participants. During their ITU experience, it was expected that their energies would be put into the therapy work. In order to facilitate this, no one was allowed to have a prison job during their time in ITU. Five of the subjects were Native Americans. The other twenty-five were Caucasian. Eleven of the subjects received identified Special Education services in grades K-12. Although some of the remaining subjects described difficulties in school, supported by grades received, they did not qualify nor were they tested for special services.

The subjects were interviewed individually, with only the researcher present. These interviews took place in either a counselor's office out of the view of guards or in a lounge area with clear visibility to the "cage," where at least two guards were on duty at all times. The choice of venue was left to the discretion of the guards on duty. Some guards were very adamant about the potential safety risk to the researcher in the

counselor's office and, due to this concern, opened the lounge area. Others, upon finding they had no key to the lounge area, asked the researcher if she had any fears of a safety risk in the counselor's office. Upon finding out there were none, they then opened that door.

The majority of extra guards who accompanied the researcher from the reception area to Unit B did not station themselves near the door of the lounge or the counselor's office, with two exceptions. After one of these occasions, when a guard was standing too close, a participant later complained to his therapist about the guard having been stationed too closely at hand during the interview. Following that revelation, the counselor asked that guards not be stationed near the door during the interviews.

Prisoners were called to interviews by the guards via an intercom to the selected inmate's room. Inmates were instructed by the guard: "Put on your blues and report to the cage." Once they came to the cage, the inmates were either directed to the interview site, or the researcher met them in the hallway and ushered them to the site.

The interviews were semi-structured, using a standard protocol consisting of nine questions pertaining to the general research question. For the purposes of this study, descriptive data were reported in narrative form from transcriptions of the interviews with the selected inmates. In order to provide a voice for the inmates reflecting their ideas and concerns, the use of direct participant quotations are used whenever possible.

The analysis of the data included the determination of common relationships between home and school experiences. In the analysis of data, one core category emerged. This category, "Early Trauma," included three subcategories and several properties. The subcategories that emerged from the data are: (a) abandonment by parents; (b) substance abuse by parent, grandparent and friend of parent; and (c) sexual abuse by parent, grandparent, teacher or friend of babysitter.

Subjects were all inmates at Montana State Prison and are each very unique individuals. The demographic information about the participants in this study is shown in Table 3. Included is the subject identifying code, ethnicity, number of children cared for in the family, and whether or not the inmate participated in Special Education classes during his school years.

Table 3

Subject information

Subject Code	Ethnicity	# of Children	Special Education
Cameron	Caucasian	9	Yes
Michel	Caucasian	10	No
Running Deer	Native Am	12	Yes
Anton	Caucasian	3	Yes
Blake	Caucasian	2	No
Trent	Caucasian	5	No
Jeff	Caucasian	4	No
Mike	Caucasian	7	No
Sam	Caucasian	3	Yes
Don	Caucasian	9	Yes
Max	Caucasian	1	No
Derek	Caucasian	1	Yes
Kenneth	Caucasian	2	No
Tom	Caucasian	11	No
David	Native Am	6	Yes
Craig	Caucasian	3	Yes
Brad	Caucasian	4	No
Mitch	Caucasian	4	No
Cory	Caucasian	7	Yes
Jake	Caucasian	12	No
Brandon	Caucasian	1	No
John	Caucasian	4	Yes
Luke	Caucasian	3	No
Mark	Native Am	4	No
Richard	Caucasian	5	Yes
Anton	Caucasian	5	No
Devon	Caucasian	1	No
Shawn	Native Am	6	No
Howard	Caucasian	5	No
Andrew	Native Am	11	No

The analysis of data for this study followed the format prescribed by Creswell (1998) who relied on the Strauss and Corbin (1990) grounded theory parameters. The analysis, therefore, uses the processes of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding described by Strauss and Corbin. Open coding is used initially to examine the data garnered from each subject's interview.

Open Coding

Creswell (1998) described open coding as the time to form initial categories of information about the phenomenon being studied by first segmenting the information. Within each category, the researcher finds several properties (sometimes referred to as “subcategories”) and looks for data that shows the extremes of the property. The open coding process yielded the following general categories: (a) Early Trauma, (b) Number of Siblings, (c) School Attendance, (d) Number of Schools Attended, (e) Special Education Classes, (f) Teacher Attributes, and (g) Suggestions for Teachers. Strauss and Corbin (1990) defined the properties uncovered during open coding as “attributes or characteristics pertaining to a category” (p. 61). The properties are then scrutinized to find their dimensional range. The first of these categories examined was Early Trauma.

Early Trauma

Table 4 presents the category of Early Trauma and the dimensional range of the properties of this category.

Table 4

Properties and Dimensional Range: Early Trauma

Category	Properties	Dimensional Range		
Early Trauma	abandonment and rejection	total	neutral	protection to HS
	sexual abuse	by grandfather, by teacher by babysitter		father includes in work activities
	alcoholic parents	instructing children in alcoholic use		moderate to no use

Descriptive narratives derived from the transcriptions of interviews with inmates support each property and dimensional range of that property shown in Table 3. The first property, “Abandonment and Rejection” begins the process of open coding.

Abandonment. Subjects who had abandonment issues tended to reflect on how that abandonment affected their youth. The dimensionality of Abandonment ranged from a feeling of total rejection by parents of Cameron to Luke who was homeschooled through eighth grade when both parents and he had a feeling of regret at his going to public school to fulfill a requirement to join the armed services upon graduation. One subject, Cameron, placed in special education because of his ADHD behavior, enjoyed math and reading and was successful on the track team. He spoke of himself as “the omen” in his family. He was the middle child with eight siblings. He says, “Even though I know my family by their names, I don’t really know them as people because I’ve never really spent too much time around them and I haven’t seen any of my family since, like, 1988.” His incarceration is due, in his view, to his

rejection by family members. His statement, “‘Cause if my mom wanted me to begin with, I wouldn’t be here,” [referring to Montana State Prison] sums up his feelings. His attempts at being included and seeking closer attachments led him to run away from a group home to his parent’s home only to be kicked out after the family called the police asking them to return him to the group home. The subject said, “That gave me a true indication that I wasn’t wanted. Most of my dealings with the police at that time weren’t really of a criminal nature. They were more of a wanting to be recognized.” When he was placed in a home for boys, his mother came by once in the two and a half years he was there. To this day he doesn’t know why she came. Cameron was proud to report he had a nickname, “Dirty Ernie,” from *My Three Sons*, a TV sitcom where children were valued as members of a family.

Another inmate, Running Deer, lived with his grandmother, his younger brother and ten cousins. The living arrangement was a necessity after his mother’s suicide, which he witnessed. When I asked if the school was able to help him through this tragic event, he replied, “Oh no, it was just like I went back to a regular day after I went back to school.” Running Deer felt the loss of belonging. His later involvement with such groups as the Bloods, Crips and Mexican Posse, even with their membership requirements of violent acts, provided him the family his mother’s death and subsequent feeling of rejection did not.

Blake described his abandonment as a sense of running from place to place. Upon further inquiry by the researcher, he told about times he would be with friends, “here and here and here, and I’d go back home, go to bed and get ready for school the next day.” His father would be at work by the time Blake awoke and “he’d come

home after work and he'd work, like, overtime, and then he'd go bowling or something like that." Derek felt a double sense of abandonment; not only did his parents divorce when he was eight years old, but his father, also died when he was nine. Brandon expressed a sense of bitterness with the weight of his felony affecting possible future employment. This sense of potential rejection rekindled early experiences of abandonment by the death of his caregiver grandmother at age seven, and his mother's incarceration. Similarly, Mark's mother had a cocaine habit that was easier to maintain without children present, so he relayed that she feigned eminent death to be rid of her son and daughter. The subject's father, who has since tried to reconcile his relationship with his son, finally noticed the deception. In the case of Devon, the sense of abandonment grew out of his adoption as a young boy into a family who wanted a son. These affections for him changed when Devon was in grade school and his adoptive mother gave birth to a boy. He professed that he never blamed his brother, but Devon felt the total lack of attention paid to him after his half brother's birth; no matter how hard he tried he did not feel he belonged. He also communicated this feeling led to a decline of his grades and a corresponding decline in his self-worth.

At the other end of this category are subjects who felt strong attachment to parents, even though this attachment may have proved detrimental. As a young child, Anton wanted to be his father's son and even trusted his father's friends. He told of his father's friends coming from Oregon and that he "can remember getting high through middle school with them." Reflecting on adults exposing children to drugs,

he said, "They were such dope fiends themselves that I don't think it really mattered. I don't think it would matter to them still today. They're just so far out there."

Luke was home schooled until high school. His recollection of that time with his family is positive. "In reality, the only real reason I went to public school was because I wanted to go into the military and at the time, the military didn't accept GED's." Later, he stated, "I loved being home schooled. I got to spend a lot of time with my family." Anton also had a close relationship with his parents and still does. He talked fondly of his father having been a professor of psychology "for the past thirty-five years or so." He regrets his inability to share time with his own sons because of his incarceration. "There's been some physical fallout, you know, as far as they're having to live with their mother now, and they don't get to see me much and all the stuff that sons and dads do together that we're missing out on." He is now worried about his second son's value system. The boy thinks, "trucks are kind of cool and maybe that'd be okay for him...wandering aimlessly through school." Anton says he'll enlist his father's help. "I've talked to Dad about that, and we're going to sit down with him. Dad thinks he'd be great in the psychology field because he likes...he likes people." Anton valued his father's presence, misses his own time with his children, and still hopes his father's guidance will bear fruit with his second son.

As a child, Max spent time in Jackson Hole, Wyoming. Even though he grew up in Tennessee, Jackson Hole was not unfamiliar territory when Max finally moved there. "I used to go a lot with my dad when I was a kid to fish, and so I'd been to Wyoming quite a bit." Max understands he had a supportive family and educational

opportunities now lost because of his incarceration at Montana State Prison. He says, “I’m not the typical, you know, I never got pushed to the side and I had a lot of opportunities.” His private high school was, “all boys, expensive, scholastically advanced, emphasis on liberal arts. We had some of the highest SAT scores in the nation for...collectively for the school.”

Sexual Abuse. Four of the subjects in this study were victims of sexual abuse. Craig was visiting with the researcher about teachers, when he remarked, “It’s just that some of them didn’t know my background and, like, the type of things I’ve been through. Like this: my grandfather was up here [in the prison] because of things he did to me. He was up here a lot. He’s buried in the cemetery down the road.” Craig said he is not exactly sure when this abuse took place, “because I’ve blocked it out, and I’ve done so much to forget it – the drugs, just not caring and not really wanting to deal with that part of my life...and who knows if I ever will.”

Similarly, Devon blurted out:

There’s something that you need to know. I was sexually molested when I was twelve years old by a schoolteacher. That cut it off. There was no more. I wasn’t playing no more. I got very angry with the whole...society at that point, and time became my enemy as far as I was concerned.

When asked if any investigation had been conducted, he replied, “No.” He further stated:

At that time is when I became antisocial...any trust that I had, any capacity for trust that I had for society was out the window – completely out the

window...I'm still...I'm 57 years old and still trying to...still it ain't quite there. I still don't trust.

Howard talked about his father removing him from school to go to work just after he had completed ninth grade. To this subject, this represented his lost childhood. He also characterized this lost childhood as due in part to the molestation he suffered. He said he was the victim of babysitters:

You know, there were a lot of...I knew a lot of pedophiles, and this was really major in my life until about age eleven. And that's where I ended up. I sought my emotional support from them and it turned out to be really, really freaky, to say the least.

This subject also saw the abuse as shaping his future lifestyle. "Someone else it may have destroyed. Well, I learned to thrive in it. I learned to thrive in chaos. Even to this day, if things aren't chaotic to a degree, I don't function well. I feel something is wrong."

Brandon spoke of his demise as starting from the time his grandmother died: My grandma, who was probably my world at the time...she died when I was seven years old right in front of me when we were out camping. Had a heart attack out here at Harrison Lake, so...I'm sure some...that had a lot to do with...everything just seemed to fall apart from that moment on.

Brandon felt his grandmother to be integral in his life because his grandparents were raising him as a son following abuse he suffered that was perpetrated by his step-dad, something Brandon does not remember much about.

Alcohol and drug use by parents. Alcohol and drug use by parents was evidenced in the lives of over half of the subjects in this study. The dimensionality of this property ranged from parents who taught their children how to use alcohol or drugs to parents whose religious tenants forbade any use of alcohol or drugs. Nonetheless, there appeared to be ready access to over half of this study's participants. Tom forgot his religious upbringing when he moved far away from home. The need to socialize with friends was too great a temptation.

Not all subjects were egocentric. Soon into the interview with John, he wanted to talk about his own son:

He's already into drugs. You know, he's only twelve years old. He's into drugs, into gangs, carrying guns – you know. He's already been in juvenile facilities, you know. When you live in a bigger city, in a faster city, it's a lot easier to get caught up in that stuff, – 'specially when to not be picked on or not be, you know, an outcast, you know, you gotta...you gotta belong to something, 'cause to be able to walk the streets, and you know...

John's life was not far different. Both parents were drug addicts, as were many in the neighborhood. He described his own substance abuse:

I started smoking pot, I think I was probably about seven...um...stealing beer out of the refrigerator when I was five. I started experimenting with methamphetamines which is...down there it was crystal meth and a when...my mom...my dad had left my mom. My mom is a heroin addict and a pretty soon I was selling...selling drugs to support my other habits and I ended up getting into heroin with my mom – my own mother. And a...to her

it wasn't no thing, because, you know, she was just like the next person. She didn't care who had it, you know. She wants to get high, she's going to get high. She got it and shared. By the time I was thirteen I was pretty well strung out on heroin. That's the way it was down there. Everybody I knew did drugs, you know.

Today, John's father is clean and works for the government. However, his mom is still using drugs. This is not a huge concern for John and he communicated his feelings for his mom. "I love her to death, you know, she'll always be my mom."

Similarly, it was a parent who introduced Devon to drugs. Devon's father was an alcoholic. He drank on the job, through the week and at home. Devon was allowed to drink with him. "I don't remember an age that I wasn't allowed to drink around the house. I was always able to have a beer or sip on their beer." The same was true for Running Deer. He found having a family member involved in alcohol abuse meant ready access. Not satisfied with just alcohol, Running Deer went to a higher level of drug engagement after members of the Mexican Posse befriended him during a stay in a juvenile detention center. He agreed to run drugs for this Mexican Posse when he got out. "I was...had to wrap it up and take it places for them and stuff like that, which in return I had easy money." When asked how this phase of criminality stopped, Running Deer said his uncle "got caught by the DEA, and he got ten years in Fort Leavenworth." When queried about the impact of this event, Running Deer replied, "I felt very lucky, because he took the rap for me. I was in the house when he got busted."

Grandparents were not immune from offering alcohol to their children's offspring. When Jeff's parents divorced, he and his mother moved in with her father. Grandpa was strict about Jeff putting in his share of work but he condoned the boy's use of alcohol. "Just the moment...just the moment I quit work – yeah, I had two or three beers with my grandpa." Alcohol was used as a wage, in effect. "If I didn't go to work, I couldn't drink." Once the social drinking with his grandfather was done for the day, Jeff would "go out to the barn and grab a six-pack."

Parents who did not purposefully teach their children about drugs and alcohol but who themselves were alcoholics were commonplace among these subjects. Mike described his father as a "violent drunk" who beat his wife and kids. He told how "one or two of us in the house was continuously beaten and you know, beat so bad we couldn't go to school."

Interestingly, Don mused about how his parent's alcoholism seemed to work to his advantage. When he skipped class, the school made a truancy phone call, but, "My mom and dad drank a lot, so they didn't check into it too much." Later in the interview, Don admitted that his parent's addiction problems did impact their ability to parent effectively.

Some of the stories about parental substance abuse were very poignant. This was especially true for Trent and Kenneth. Both of these subjects saw how parental addictions had an adverse effect on their lives. Trent's mother was addicted to prescription drugs, and his father was alcoholic. The subject said he and his brother imagined how different their lives would be away from them to the extent that when

twin brothers, later born to their parents, were given up for adoption shortly after they were born, Trent and his brother:

Used to lay away at night asking each other why we weren't good enough to be adopted, you know. I never went to a foster home or anything, but Granny was the closest to a foster home I had. It was...I always looked forward to going there.

Likewise, Kenneth had a brother with whom he could commiserate. They talked about the arguments that ensued from their father's drinking. "Me and my brother freak out when they'd have the battles. There was never any physical, just a lot of yelling. Later he mused, "Maybe that's why I left. I just didn't like watching that kind of thing."

It wasn't just parents or grandparents who were drug abusers or who supplied drugs to their children or grandchildren. Sometimes, as in the case of David, Michel and Cameron, siblings were the ones to enable the use of alcohol with the subjects. David related the story of his mother being kicked out of the home for drinking too much, and that his brother and four sisters were relieved because they'd felt there would be more to share. David spoke of skipping school a lot in junior high because he "was drinking a lot, smoking pot a lot." The teacher "just told me if I just didn't bother anybody, he'd pass me so I didn't have to do nothing in class." When asked about his source of the alcohol, David said with no emotion, "Oh, my family. My brothers and sisters partied. My friends. They all learned me." The marijuana? "Same way." He also felt it easy to be "out of sight, out of mind." David's father lived in one house and "we had another little house next door, and that's where my

bigger sisters lived and that's where we had all the parties." Similarly, Michel was dependent on older siblings to supply his drug needs:

I come from a large family...my older siblings gave me drugs to pacify me, to keep them out of trouble...I wouldn't tell on them for them doing things they weren't supposed to, and vice-versa. That's the rule of thumb. You just don't say where you get it from.

Siblings, no longer a part of Cameron's life, provided some comic relief to balance his mother's rejection. He remembers very well the occasion when his two brothers came to his school and told the principal they were detectives and needed to take Cameron out for questioning. Little did the principal know these were his brothers. It was his thirteenth birthday, and they would take him to a bar, to play pool and get him very drunk. Cameron has not seen these brothers for many years, but he does remember turning thirteen.

On the other end of the spectrum were parents who believed in abstinence of drugs and alcohol for young children. Michel told about the reaction of his parents when they caught him using drugs. He described them as being, "Very upset. Very upset. Very. They were not happy with me at all." When the local authorities finally caught up with Michel's drug habits, they didn't have to conduct a urine analysis. Instead, Michel's parents requested it. It was discovered that Michel was under the influence of marijuana. Asked about his reaction to his parent's drug testing request, Michel replied, "At that point in my life, I didn't care what happened to me."

Tom's parents believed not only in abstinence for young people but also for people of all ages. As members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,

parents and their family of eleven children followed the precepts of the church very closely. Tom was a firm believer until he was 18 or 19, when he moved to Phoenix.

He stated that he was:

Pretty rift with guilt to start out with but I was living with [a friend] and he's got two or three friends out in the living room stereo blaring and they're sitting around having a shot and a beer and I'm in the bedroom. That lasts about an hour and then you go out to see what all the commotion's about. It's pretty easy to fall into the groove.

Eventually, Tom decided it was "time to clean up and do the Mormon thing and go on a mission," but ultimately, an injury and "medicinal marijuana" grown in his garage under the tutelage of an undercover agent worked against him.

Some parents were moderate social drinkers, well educated and successful. They wanted the same things for their children. These were the parents of Max and Anton. They did not purposefully provide drugs and alcohol to their children, and they admonished their sons whenever they were found to be in possession.

Table 5 gives the properties and dimensional range of subjects who skipped school and were truant. As the table shows, truancy was an issue in country schools, small towns and cities. Subjects had a variety of reasons for skipping school not the least of which was simply wanting to stay home, or wanting to drink with friends. Some skipped school because of parent apathy, their own work responsibilities or events at school that made it no longer a welcome place.

Table 5

Skipping school

Category	Properties	Dimensional Range
Skipping School	Grades 1-4 Elementary	rural, small town, city
	Grades 5-8 Middle School	just stayed home, drank hard liquor with friends, was molested by teacher
	High School Grades 9-12	had fun, parents were apathetic; had work responsibilities, was fearful of going to school

Grades 1 through 4. Students who skipped school missed instruction and corresponding information from classmates. In this study of thirty subjects, four were in grades one through four when they started skipping school. For example, Don lived in the country where he could spend his day, rather than going to school. It appears the school attempted to contact his parents but as related by Don, "My mom and dad drank a lot so they didn't check into it too much." Likewise, Andrew spent his days wandering through the small town after he hid under the school bus until the others had gone inside. He reported that he, "got caught quite a few times, and my parents beat the hell out of me." Andrew's father had been killed in an accident and his mother was an alcoholic. Andrew's sister and brother-in-law were his caregiver "parents."

Subjects living in urban communities found skipping school easier to accomplish. John rode a city bus to school. It was no problem for him to continue

the ride to the arcade or to a friend's house. The anonymity of riding public transportation became a perfect foil. By fourth grade, the park had lost its appeal and John was more interested in:

Going to the mall or something, but we were more interested, you know, in going somewhere to get high at somebody's house, hang out, you know. Our parents – they were too busy getting high in the first place. They didn't care what we were doing. They were too busy trying to find their next fix.

Town size didn't stop Mitch. Although he rode a regular school bus to the elementary school in his moderately sized rural community, he started skipping school in fourth grade and soon his habit was entrenched. He reported:

From fourth grade on I started getting high. In fourth grade my mom went through a divorce, and I was smoking more weed back then, and I was fighting with my teachers all the time, and I didn't go [to school] very much then. I went but I skipped school a lot [to] go play.

Grades 5 through 8. Eleven subjects began their skipping practices in grades five through eight. Some, like David, simply wanted to stay home. "My mom didn't live with us anymore, and my dad was working. So, once Dad went to work, I could do what I wanted." Sam had similar intentions. "Our dad would go to work, usually, and I'd go, like, I was going to school and then he'd take off for work, and I'd just go back home to watch TV, sleep and play." If parents asked about homework, Sam offered his standard response, "I got it all done at school." Jeff understood the consequences. He knew his schoolwork would suffer if he skipped school but the lure of playing baseball with boys two grades older was too much of an enticement.

“My grades slacked off because of my attendance, not because of the schoolwork I did.”

The school setting was an issue for more than one subject. Both Michel and Mike professed to their parents they could do much better if only they were allowed to attend public school. Mike told me:

I went half a year to Catholic school, and I'd had enough and I told my mom...I started skipping school. My grades were down around C's and D's and were working their way down and I told her if she would let me go to public school again, I'd start going again [but] I started not going at all.

Others simply didn't like going to school, public or private. Cameron would rather be anywhere but in school. The school parking lot was okay as was the vacant lot across the street. He contended, “As long as it didn't pertain to being in the school itself, it was more of a thrill.” Some found that skipping school wasn't really what they had initially planned but it came about as a natural course of events. For example, Kenneth went fishing and got in with the wrong crowd. One of his new friend's father owned a bar but as Kenneth reported, “I don't ever remember drinking a whole bunch. No, we really never drank. We were just cutting classes.”

Running Deer said he found school boring and to give it some interest, he skipped, “all the time – two to three times a week. And, it wouldn't be the whole day – it'd be like a half, and then we'd all plan something and go party and skip the rest of the day.” Mark didn't delineate which part of the day he would be in school. He skipped full days to “hang out with my friends and go drink.” Similar to Running Bear, Craig skipped school because he maintained it was not challenging. He became

an alcoholic, smoked marijuana and moved up to methamphetamines but maintains when he was at school, he was a good student.

Devon, the subject who claimed to have been molested by a teacher at school said his own father did not believe the charge against the teacher because he was a friend of that teacher. After the incident, Devon said he skipped a lot, “as much as I could possibly get away with.” Describing life at this same age, Trent told one of the most poignant stories in the study when describing his skipping:

They were progressive or what, but you didn’t need an excuse to get back in the school and...I was just not going to school. You know, I’d go to the library and check out some books, and then I’d go sit out in the forest and read – couple little cabins I found where I’d go sit out there and read or there was where we lived, by where we lived, there was a cemetery, and I’d go sit out on a ...on the crypts and read and stuff. I never got caught skipping because I’d go home about lunchtime or so to my house and eat and leave again until it was time to come back, because I had a really tough time dealing with people then. I just stayed isolated...but my dad caught me skipping and instead of going all crazy, it was one of the best days I ever had with my dad. He took me out...we had, you know, ate lunch somewhere, ‘cause he was skipping work. He’s like, ‘What are you doing here,’ and I’m like, ‘What are you doing here?’ We went down on the Sound, I guess that’s what it was, just sat on the beach and talked and stuff and it was one of the best days I remember with my dad.

Grades 9 through 12. Subjects who started skipping in high school had a wide variety of reasons ranging from wanting to do something fun to feeling the pressure of work versus school to fear of reprisal for other behaviors that may take place at school. Fun was important to Derek. He spent his time away from school engaged in recreational activities. "I went and played baseball or something, you know, messed around, went swimming...instead of going to school, I was doing....I was wanting to do other stuff, you know. We went and played foosball and stuff like that."

The school still held an allure for some but it wasn't in the classroom. Cory and Blake spent their time skipping in whole or in part within close proximity of the school building. Blake said, "I'd go to school just to, I don't know, pretty much go there and smoke weed or something like that or see where parties are at. That's what I'd do, basically. And, I'd only go to classes which I liked." Similarly, Cory did not go to class but because he was usually hanging out in the parking lot, he didn't sense that he was in any way dropping out of school.

I hung around the school and smoked marijuana, experimented with all the drugs and stuff that floated around the school. Back then they wasn't security like today. Back then, gosh, you could go across the street in the parking lot and stay...hang around out there for the biggest part of the day and probably not encounter anybody questioning what you were doing. While school was going on, we'd have, like, other friends that were doing the school thing that were like porters...they called them porters. They would go and they would pick up the slips from each classroom and take them to the office and turn 'em

in. We'd just have 'em pull our slips, so we wasn't counted absent. I went through school like that...in high school. Not going.

Some felt the pull of work, either self-imposed or by parental request. Anton reported, "I was there up until high school, I guess, and that's when I started skipping school and not going to school...going to work instead of school. School was not easy for Anton and he truly enjoyed working with his father on construction projects. His father and he mutually agreed Anton was more suited to work than school. Howard feels his attendance was "good for as long as I was in school." He left school at 14 years of age to work with his father in the stucco business. Unlike Anton, Howard's abrupt departure from school was not of his own choosing. Like others, Howard enjoyed the social connections of school but his father did not value sociability and insisted his son's time could be put to better use.

Some parents didn't care about their child's attendance record. Brad said his parents were:

Too into their own thing to worry – education was never ever even brought up. It came to a head in high school. Well, I went into tenth grade and I...I'd skip school so much that I'd fail tenth grade – that's why I never...I never finished tenth grade. So, on my 17th birthday, when I should have been in eleventh grade, I went into the military.

Luke reported community apathy to be a factor in his truancy:

I'd go hang out with my friends and other friends that skipped...run around town. There was no truancy law. I used to walk right by the police station

with my friends, and they [the police] never said anything. Nobody ever said anything. Nobody really...the community really didn't seem to care.

Unlike Devon, the fear that kept Brandon from coming to school was not caused by anyone but himself. Brandon admitted it was his own doing. "I caused myself a big stink by stealing the wrong kid's motor bike...got caught in the act, and there's some older boys." Brandon said later that he definitely "did not want to mess with those boys." He then started skipping more often.

Mobility, or the number of different schools subjects attended is reflected in Table 6. Moving around from school to school is not a difficult task for some but for others who find themselves always on the outside fringes of school social groups, it can be very difficult and cause behavioral and academic problems.

Table 6

Mobility factors

Category	Properties	Dimensional Range
# of schools attended	Same school dist	Elementary – JH – HS
	2-3 schools	public to private or private to public; public or private to court mandated
	4 schools	public to public, public to court mandated, public to private to court mandated
	5 or more schools	public to court mandated, public to public

The more schools one attends, the more adept one has to be to establish new friendship circles. As one subject discovered, it is often easier to find a new friendship circle in a new school setting based on one's high-risk behaviors. Well-

established students in a school are not willing to allow new membership.

Establishing rapport with new teachers several times a year is not easy for young people, nor is it easy to continually face a new curriculum midstream. Some subjects were mindful of the different requirements placed on them when they changed from public to private settings or from public to court ordered school arrangements.

Same school district. Blake, Sam, Max, Tom, Craig, Cory, John, Anton and Devon all went to a single school district from kindergarten to the time they left formal education. The twists and turns accompanying each participant revealed a complex educational experience, despite the seeming stability. For example, Blake did attend the sequence of schools within one district but changed caregivers. Being asked to leave his immediate family setting in 10th grade and moving in with an aunt's family led to a less stable environment. The boundaries were less clear in this new setting, offering Blake the opportunity to experiment with drugs and alcohol and experience fewer consequences. Similarly, Sam was the third child in his family to go to the same school district. His older brothers skipped school with regularity, as did Sam. The three of them would play on train tracks or go swimming when they skipped school. In the case of Max, he acknowledged he was never pushed aside and was offered countless opportunities. His parents played an active role in assuring he would be well prepared for anything life would offer. After being caught with pot and liquor by his parents at age fifteen, Max said if they had told him he would one day go to prison because of all this, he would have "wagered every penny that I'll ever make for the rest of my life that I won't." However, the stable setting could not withstand the challenge of meth and personal relationships gone awry. In a similar

manner, Anton grew up with the same opportunity to live a successful life. His father was on the faculty of a university for thirty-five years and, Anton sadly admitted he, “had a chance to go to the university where his father taught, but did not go.”

Tom had yet a different twist in his “single school district” experience. He grew up in a large Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints family. His older brothers and sisters went to the same district he would attend, but Tom was very anxious about school and could not settle down until an accident forced him to move at a slower pace. He suggested that students be made aware of counseling services that are available to them. He said that, “It’s not good to assume that because other family members have done well in their adjustment to school, that it will necessarily follow to younger siblings.”

Likewise, Craig matriculated in the same school district until he quit school as a freshman, but the extenuating circumstances in his young life, including having been sexually molested by his grandfather, parents who knew about his alcohol consumption but didn’t discourage its use, and the bad influence of peers found him “striving for attention in the wrong places.” Jake, an older subject, moved from Catholic grade school to a rigorously academic all-boys Catholic high school before moving on to Notre Dame to study journalism. Had WWII not come along, with Jake’s passion for serving his country, he would have continued his journalism studies at Notre Dame. Jake spent considerable time in the interview advocating the need to understand alcoholism and how the chemical reacts differently with each person. He said he recognized the error of his ways and wished the “driving under

the influence,” the DUI mandatory sentencing guidelines would be made more available to young people.

A barrio neighborhood in southern California was the setting of the single school attendance area for John. Although he attended school, he felt the effectiveness of instruction must have been lost on his seven-year-old mind when he came to school stoned on pot or getting “strung out on heroin” at thirteen. Likewise, Anton went to one school district but did not do well in school once he figured out in elementary school that, “You can tell when people aren’t overly concerned about your welfare.”

Of the remaining twenty-one subjects, one experienced two educational settings, seven were in three settings, five were in four settings, and eight were in five or more settings.

Two – three settings. Parents became concerned about the drug use in older siblings and moved the entire family from California to an area in central Montana where Richard completed his education through high school. Michel, Running Deer, Anton, Jeff, Mike, Brad, and Luke attended at least three schools in a variety of settings. Michel attended elementary and junior high school in Butte, Montana. At the end of elementary school, Michel was sent to a Catholic junior high, something he said he did not want, but his parents overruled his request to remain in public school. He continued in parochial education at Butte Central but was expelled for disrespect toward the principal. Later, after marijuana and curfew problems, Michel was given an ultimatum: go to Pine Hills, Juvenile Correctional Facility for Boys in Miles City, or go live with your sister and brother-in-law in Oklahoma. He went to Oklahoma.

After moving from one public elementary school to another, Mike was put in a parochial setting to finish elementary school through the 7th grade, much to his chagrin. In 8th grade, his mother recapitulated and allowed him to go back to public school. However, home problems continued to escalate, forcing Mike to drop out of school in 11th grade.

Only one subject attended school for members of a cultural group. Running Deer started in a Native American school, but after his grandmother decided he wasn't getting the academic focus she felt important, he was placed in a public elementary school and attended junior high and one year of high school in the area. He also attended classes at a juvenile facility. Running Deer learned not only math, science, history and literature at the facility, but also what the Mexican Posse would require from him to receive a lucrative salary once he was out of that facility. He later got his GED from Montana Tech.

Only one subject was home schooled for an extended time. Luke started in a home school setting and remained there until attending high school, first at Columbia Falls and later in Kalispell. In retrospect, Luke felt he would have been more successful having remained in home schooling throughout high school. The remaining three subjects attended school in at least three settings moving from one state (or district) to another without court mandates, or change from public to parochial or parochial to public settings. For example, Anton moved from Nevada to Oregon to Montana before dropping out of high school to go to work. Likewise, Jeff moved back to Texas after a time in Oklahoma, and Brad moved from Indiana to Ohio where he attended school in two different Ohio districts.

Four settings. Some subjects moved to multiple settings in the same geographic area. For example, Derek moved to schools in four settings within close proximity making the task of making new friends less ominous but not diminishing the problems he encountered with changing curricula, recess times, school expectations, and participation in activities. Mitch stayed in Montana, but distances precluded close friendships and the adjustment issues remained the same. Others attended schools across the globe. For example, Howard included a stop in Darnstadt, Germany, as one of his four settings. The others were Fort Myers and Merritt Island, Florida, elementary schools and back to Fort Myers after his return from Germany. This last foray into education lasted only a short time because his father decided that Howard's interests were better served learning the stucco trade.

Other subjects remained in one district until the latter part of their education. This was the experience of Brandon who went to four settings, "staying put" until his junior year in high school when he moved with his family to Carlin, NV. After stealing a car, he and a friend spent time in Pine Hills before his return to Carlin and ultimate expulsion. Cameron has little memory of elementary education but did remember "being shipped out to an institution when I was ten for hyperactivity." Shortly after coming home, he was again placed in a therapeutic setting, this time in a group home. At fifteen, the court mandated his placement in the Ethan Allen School for Boys in Madison, Wisconsin, which he described as "kind of like a juvenile prison."

Five or more settings. Of the subjects who were in more than one educational setting, those in five or more were most common. Three of the "five or more"

(David, Cory, and Mark) went from public school to court mandated placements.

David went to school in Lake County before being arrested for smoking pot. After two weeks in the county jail, it was determined a group home would be the best placement for him. The condition that required David attend school on a regular basis was not fulfilled, and, as a result, he was sent to Pine Hills. After forty-five days, David returned to his parents. His freedom was short-lived. "Burglaries and stuff" put him back in Pine Hills. One more time for a home visit and a return to the group home completed his formal education plan. A similar set of circumstances befell Cory. After attending Beardsley School in California from K-8th grade and into high school, he went back and forth between his home school and Camp Owens, the state juvenile facility, a total of three times. Cory finally graduated from high school at his new alma mater: Camp Owens.

Parents no longer living together was partly the cause for the number of schools Mark attended. At first, he divided his time between living with his mother in Alaska and his father in Montana. He said that once his father determined his mother was claiming her imminent death as a ruse for her cocaine habit, Mark no longer made that trek, instead only moving across town from Big Sky High School to Hellgate High School in Missoula. Along the way, as an early teen, he matriculated at the Excelsior Youth Home in Spokane, Washington. This is a facility for eighty wayward youth, and Mark felt it was complete with bus passes to downtown Spokane and spending money to purchase drugs and other sundries.

Sometimes, it was siblings' antics that forced subjects to attend many different schools. For example, Shawn was never in jeopardy of being sent to a county jail or

youth facility himself, but his older brothers made such a commotion in neighborhoods that they moved to at least five or six different elementary school residence areas during the time Shawn was in grades kindergarten through third grade. Fourth through sixth grades were more stable. Shawn attended Garfield Elementary in Great Falls. A later move to Iowa to attend a Catholic school and subsequent moves to Hayes, Montana and to Harlem, Montana finally resulted in Shawn graduating from high school. He is hopeful that he will be able to finish a degree in business management after leaving Montana State Prison. Putting that together with his prior experience working with students on small construction projects may give Shawn the opportunities he needs to make a viable income and continue a happy life with his wife and child.

Andrew moved from public school to private school and then back to public schools in the same community before going to South Dakota to go to school on a reservation. Homesickness for his family led Andrew to give up a scholarship to the Sante Fe Art Institute. He quit school altogether shortly thereafter.

Some subjects can't remember how many times they changed schools. The number of elementary schools he attended is lost to Kenneth but he does remember that he "changed high schools ten times." The ten high schools were not in ten different districts – he returned to the same community in Montana three times. Other states included Utah and Nevada. Trent met a similar fate. He stated, "We would never stay in any place over six months or so, but we always came back to the same cities and the same places. Like I went to Marie Roberts Elementary in Lost Creek, Kentucky, five or six different occasions." Trent and his brother attended

schools in Butte and Anaconda and spent the rest of the time in Washington matriculating in Port Orchard, Bremerton, Renton, Shelton, Seattle, Tacoma, and Olympia schools. Trent attended the most schools of all.

Teacher Attributes

Teachers made a huge impact on all subjects. Some remembered a teacher as having a positive outlook treating everyone with care and respect. Others remembered that very special teacher who singled them out and provided the nurturing they needed. Not lost for others is the memory of a teacher who didn't appear to like teaching in general. Others, particularly Trent, remember a teacher who was vindictive to them personally. Teacher attributes are reflected in Table 7.

Table 7

Teacher Attributes

Category	Properties	Dimensional Range
Teacher Attributes	Personal Positive	I owe my life to my teacher. Praised student for art work which he did well. Subject learned algebra through his work as a roofer.
	General Positive	We wanted to be just like her. Accessible, caring, good one-on-one instruction. Best teacher – made subject excel and wouldn't accept anything less than good work.
	Personal Negative	Vicious and vindictive. Spanked so hard his teeth hurt and his toes curled in his shoes. Teachers didn't take an interest in me or in my disability of learning. One with whom subject had an affair.
	General Negative	Teachers were there to collect pay. Teacher did not waste time on slow learners. Too many students – not enough time for one-on-one instruction.

Subjects in the study identified many teacher attributes. These attributes are organized into four groups: Personal Positive, General Positive, Personal Negative and General Negative. These qualities as described reflect varying properties of teacher attributes experienced by the subjects during their various educational experiences.

Personal Positive. Personal positive properties are those attributes of a more personal nature that the subject felt were directed toward him. It was as simple as a hand on the shoulder or providing a safe home for the subject to live in when things were untenable. The discussion is arranged from the seemingly most meaningful of each dimension to the least meaningful. For the most meaningful, Shawn felt he “owes his life” to one teacher. “I think my whole childhood was just crazy, and you know, that one teacher reaching out, saved my life.” Very close in importance was the experience had by Running Deer. He found in a second grade teacher one who shared things that might interest a young child. “He got me into running the Thousand Arrows. It’s a marathon they run in Puyallup – Point Defiance. It’s like a ten-mile run. He always had me in stuff like that.” Just someone to talk to was important to some subjects. That was the experience of Andrew and his fourth grade teacher. “If we had a problem, we could talk to her about it, and she would do something about it.” When asked if most students liked this teacher, Andrew replied, “In fact, I don’t remember a kid not liking her.” Brandon found a second grade teacher who cared about him and what was happening to him. “She took the extra time when I needed it, you know, and saw that, you know, something’s wrong with me or took the time to really care and find out what had happened in my life, you know what I mean?” Brandon was abused by his stepfather, adopted by his grandparents as a very young child and his caregiver grandmother died when he was seven.

Some subjects sensed goodness in their teachers that unbeknownst to them represented a key element in master teachers. Tom told of something he had thought

about for a long time. “The teacher who shares information...there is a relationship between the shared knowledge and the individual. People that helped me best, that helped me learn, were the sharers.” Glickmann (2003) would agree this is a master teacher.

General Positive. General Positive attributes are those that reflect a teacher’s demeanor and actions toward all children. The general positive teacher may greet all her students at the door and give them all a hug at the end of the day. Or, this teacher may exude a certain persona that says she would rather be no other place. Anton purports his third grade teacher was “kind of strict but she just, for some reason...a person just wanted to excel when you were in her presence. I just wanted to please her, and I wasn’t the only one. A lot of us, we just wanted to get on her good side.” When queried about a fear factor, Anton said that was not it. “We just wanted her for a little of her respect. We just wanted to be like her, I guess.”

John talked about his third grade teacher at length. Her discipline was renown. She wouldn’t send you to the principal. I mean, she’d ask you, you know – to stop. She wouldn’t stick nobody in the corner or nothin’ like that, you know. She wouldn’t make you stay after...after class or nothin’, you know. She’d talk to you about it, you know, and she’d...she’d a...she wouldn’t make you like, you know how you get suspended from recess and you couldn’t go to recess? Well, she’d only take five minutes from your recess, you know, just to talk to you about it.

John was not alone in his admiration.

Everybody, see like I said, everybody wanted to go to her class, tried to get into her class, you know. Like if you were in the second grade, right before school got out, everybody would be trying to ask her and get into her classroom for the next year to go into third grade. That's how it worked.

Just two short years later, John was starting to use meth and deal heroin. Eighth grade was his last year in school. Nonetheless, this third grade teacher clearly made a positive impression.

Trent talked about his love of reading. He was perhaps the most insatiable reader of the study, so it seemed prudent to ask about how he got started. Trent is like many who become good readers by virtue of a parent or caregiver who sets an example. He talked about his father:

He'd read at the dinner table and he wouldn't talk to us and stuff, you know. I remember...all I could see of my dad was...I could see the top of his forehead and his temples moving when he was chewing and that was all I can...I think back about my dad at dinnertime and that's about all I can remember.

This was not the engendering reading moment. Rather, that came later when Trent tried to pass off a comic book as his contribution to the book report unit. His third grade teacher said, "No, those don't count." Trent thought he was doomed for that class until the teacher, "gave me this one book called *White Sails to China*, maybe a hundred pages, and I read that and I thought, 'My goodness, this is good stuff!'" He then found reading as a passion. This same third grade teacher made silk-screened tee-shirts for all the children who tried to meet reading goals, a valuable incentive to Trent.

The French American, Jake, was taught to respect his teachers. The one nun who made a lasting impression was one who “walked among the students.” He said she knew what struggles some had, in the same manner in which Brandon described his counselor, a former drug user, as perhaps the best in the business because he has walked in the shoes of those he counsels. Luke, the home-schooled subject, found in sports there were coaches who met the needs of all kids, even when they got into trouble with the law. He remembered one coach swatting him on the side of the head and saying, “Hey, this is what you’re doing wrong. You knock it off.”

Personal Negative. Personal Negative attributes are those that hurt students very deeply. It is the teacher who tells a student he or she will never succeed so “why bother me?” It is the teacher who appears not to care that both parents have been arrested on methamphetamine charges and the courts will determine a child’s fate. The English paper isn’t in and that’s all that matters.

Personal Negative attributes engendered the most impassioned responses from subjects. Trent, the one who moved around the most, remembered a teacher as vicious and vindictive. This teacher gave one spanking with a board that Trent spoke of as, “so hard my teeth hurt and my toes curled in my shoes.” David, a subject who spent most of his schooling in special education classes, looked straight ahead and spoke in short, halting sentences with a speech impediment and told about the science teacher who said, “If you don’t bother anybody, I’ll pass you.” So, David “didn’t have to do nothing in class.” Mitch, the one who thinks pre-service teachers should know what they’re getting into, summed up his feelings:

I mean, when I went to school, to me when I went to school, the teachers were there to teach and they taught their class what they had. But, when it came to outside stuff, the kids on what they were doing...they didn't want no part of it. It wasn't their job to be a parent to us.

Mitch saw the school giving up too easily. He said that when he did something wrong, it was reported to his mother. He indicated she acted like she didn't care so the school quit caring, too. Later when we were talking about sports and coaches, Mitch said he was very excited when the coach said, "You've got the potential to be the best player this school has ever seen but you gotta work at it." But, the adulation seemed worthless later because he never received direction or he couldn't count on anyone who would work with him.

When I asked Mark to talk about teachers, he first recalled a teacher who "used to throw dictionaries at me, because I was supposed to be on Ritalin but my Dad hated any kind of medication, so he never put me on it." He continued, "He literally slammed a dictionary off my desk or something, if I was staring out the window or he'd make me sit in front of the class and hold books up...at arm's length." Shortly thereafter, Mark threw a stapler at this same teacher, was expelled and once again was required to start in a new educational setting. The relationship between Jeff and his high school English teacher was not nearly so caustic. He had an affair with her.

Cory, perhaps the most personable of the study and the Camp Owen grad, was aware early on that he had a learning disability, but he was empathetic to problems teachers might be facing. He stated:

I would think that they would go into that field wanting to help people. But the flip side of that is, too, is that I think they could go into the field wanting to help people and be naïve to want to getting themselves into...and once they get into the field realize that wow, how am I going to accomplish this thing.

These feats, with these kids – they’re troubled. They’re a pain in the butt.”

This subject was not alone in thinking pre-service teachers should ask themselves if teaching is really their calling. Another Californian, John, who completed 8th grade, came to a similar conclusion.

General Negative. The general negative teacher knows how many days are left in the school year, is the last out of the teacher’s lounge and the first out the door at 4:00. Other attributes include a general negative outlook on life and the reluctance to allow students the opportunity to try out a new idea, make mistakes and grow from the experience. Mitch felt his teachers through third grade showed “genuine love and care towards every kid in their class.” His perception changed from fourth grade on:

Teachers...they didn’t care, you know, they was there to collect their paycheck and do their job which is teaching. If you didn’t want to learn, they didn’t care. If you were a problem kid, they passed you so they didn’t have to deal with you the next year.

Kenneth, one who left home because of the beatings his mother, brother, and he suffered at the hand of his father, sadly remembered more than one general negative attribute found in his teachers. “Some of them would find a way to help you understand where others, if you didn’t understand immediately, as they were going,

you know, as the class is moving along, well, you fall out, fall behind.” He continued to talk about his algebra teacher who “didn’t waste time [with] the slow learners.” In the end Kenneth espoused his personal philosophy about teaching:

When he shows that he cares, you’re willing to do something for him. You’re going to put forth a little effort for his...to make him, how do I put it, it’s not the pat on the back...for his acceptance, you know, he can see that...his recognition – that you’re trying and he’ll put forth a little more effort for you. It makes it so much easier. When you have someone that doesn’t care, or treats you like you are stupid, I think that you end up being stupid.

Overcrowding appeared to be an issue for more than one subject as a general negative attribute. Sam felt teachers were at a disadvantage, because “there are too many kids and not enough time to help individuals.” Luke echoed these same thoughts when he spoke of moving to a different bigger school:

There was definitely a huge difference in how much the teachers interacted with students. It was not anywhere near the amount of one-on-one, and I figured, oh well, it’s just because the teachers are more purists. But, now I’ve gotten older, I can see where they were just overwhelmed.

Table 8 includes suggestions for teachers related to instruction, counseling, warning signs and facilities. Some subjects were vocal about suggestions, others either didn’t have many suggestions or didn’t want to volunteer them at the risk of appearing rude.

Table 8
Suggestions

Category	Properties	Dimensional Range
Suggestions for Teachers	Instruction	Use of hands-on instruction, smaller groups and shorter time periods.
	Counseling	Career planner and personal counseling.
	Warning Signs	Grades, friendship groups, clothing, absences, drug and alcohol abuse.
	Facilities	Pine Hills and Riverside to Deer Lodge and Billings

Instruction. When volunteer subjects for the study were first approached, it was explained that their thoughts about instruction and how it might be improved would be valuable. Therefore, this item emerged as a valuable property. Three subjects focused on hands-on instruction. Anton saw hands-on learning in core subjects as a means to keep students motivated. A car buff, he offered the history of the automobile as an example. He suggested that a teacher could enlist the aid of someone who works on old cars as a hobby and have them take one part of the car and teach the class on how it has changed in use over time. He said, "Maybe that way you could kind of come in the back door, so to speak, you know, and then just have that be a little side subject just to keep the person interested." This same subject mused about the advent of video games and how it has changed the way children play. He found the eye-hand coordination of the hands-on games to be beneficial but

saw imagination and creativity from his childhood sadly missing. “We...we played guns, and cops and robbers, and army, and we played outside for hours and I’m sure you did, too, and now my kids are mostly into video games, and it takes quite a bit to draw them outside.” Likewise, Anton wanted to use hands-on for assessment. He talked about a metals class:

You’re supposed to know what each machine did and this and that, and I could never pass the...I mean, I could never pass the test, but if we walked up and I explained to him what it did...I knew what the machine did rather than write on paper.

Max saw hands-on instruction in alternative education classes as a solution to the larger issue of unemployment and underutilized skills.

Look at the alternatives: If you’ve got somebody that’s earning their own way, they’re not going to be on welfare. They’re not going to be in jail. They’re not going to need food from the food shelter, you know.

Many subjects expounded on their views of regular education classroom instruction. Mitch pronounced, “If they don’t make it so that we want to be there, we’re not gonna want to be there.” Much later in the interview, he pointed out what teachers can do to make kids want to be there. He asserted:

Teachers need to enthrall a kid to want to learn the subject they’re teaching. Why would you...why would you want to sit down and read a book...have you ever...you know, you sit down and read your schoolbooks and they’re not very enthralling? They do not capture my...a lot of kids.

Others offered instructional plans they thought might work. Cory saw a smaller teaching group as key. He said he remembers being “called on once or twice and I had no clue what the heck they were even talking about so...”. Luke, coming from home schooling for eight years to Columbia Falls High School and then to Flathead High School, was consumed by the need for smaller instructional groups. Likewise, Trent saw not only smaller numbers of students but shorter blocks of instructional time as integral, especially for ADD or ADHD children who may be included in the class. Staying focused was a difficult task for him. He had an undiagnosed ADHD disability, which he said had caused him much pain and anxiety.

Trent found a teacher in rural Kentucky who calmed the fears of her class about a possible nuclear war during the Reagan years by giving her elementary students a lesson on opposing voices being heard from the far reaches of government. She was a master of using the “teachable moment.” Andrew, living on a reservation in Montana, said the teaching of history from an exclusive white man’s view caused him to hate history. “What the elders told me at home was a lot different than what they were teaching in school. That’s what I recognized. There wasn’t any option.” In a similar vein, Andrew saw part of the solution to discrimination he perceived as the inclusion of a once a week civic hour when laws as they pertain to education could be discussed.

Suggestions from some took on a more global aspect. Jake wanted schools to offer an instructional component on what the chemicals in drugs are and how they react in one’s body. He said to be effective, this information needs to be straightforward and truthful. Students need to know that there is no coming back

from alcohol. “You can arrest it and stay dormant, but if they go ten years and don’t drink, when you pick up the next drink, after ten years, you’re at the same level you were when you stopped.” Luke concurred. He said the drug abuse information could be done at the same time as sex education. “Like maybe have it like a package group or something, ‘cause they’re doing sex ed right before kids are partying.”

Counseling. Other subjects believed in counseling to assure students know about the opportunities that lie ahead. Just getting to secondary education was the first roadblock for some. Tom, the Church of Jesus Christ and Latter Day Saints member, had difficulty moving from his elementary school years into junior high. Although many of his ten siblings had also experienced transition difficulties, Tom felt that he “didn’t get a lot of the personal attention that I got in grade school when I was in junior high.”

If one were to pick out a theme of the interview with Brad, it would center around the lack of career counseling. He was very frustrated when he said:

I was just never...explained any of that type of stuff. It was more like we were on two separate sides of the fence, me and the teachers, as I was growing up. I never remember college even being mentioned when I was going to school.

He felt the sting of being passed by in deference to those with more potential. “More interest was taken in them persons where the majority, or the people, you know, that were more average, weren’t singled out and they weren’t pulled into the ...I don’t know how to say it.” The feeling of inadequate training has plagued Brad throughout his life. He does not want to leave Montana State Prison

without a skill. “I need a trade or a skill, and I’m willing to learn it. I need it. I mean, I can’t make it on the streets without it.” Before this time at MSP, Brad was doing day labor and admitted robbery was going through his mind once again because he was homeless. “It’s not no fun,” he explained of living out doors. Mike agreed that not all students are treated equally. “I’ve seen teachers in the higher education level give up on kids because they are not good enough...and spend more time with the ones in class that are good.”

Beyond career counseling, many subjects saw caring as a key component that was missing in their lives. Cameron wanted teachers to take the time to talk to students who are acting out, instead of exercising more punitive measures. Anton wanted teachers to be more involved in students’ lives and remain more concerned about what they’re doing. He saw students pushing away and wanting to get isolated as a sign that things are not going well with them. Mike perceived it was teachers who were the ones pushing students away. Near the end of his interview, Mike was very passionate about his views:

If they need the additional help, don’t just push them through because you got that many more that need to be there. That child that you’re pushing through may be somebody that is going to wind up here because you didn’t give a care.

Mitch believed the perfect junior high as a place where teachers would be there not only to help with schoolwork but also to sit down and help with life.

Warning Signs. Subjects often mentioned warning signs of impending academic and social failure. More specifically, subjects wanted teachers to be more

adept at spotting warning signs. Many felt they had exhibited these signs throughout their school experiences without anyone noticing.

Reflecting on warning signs, Trent remembered, “I’d come to high school, and I’d be so drunk, and the bus monitors, they knew I was drunk and they just let me go on to my homeroom class. They could have said something.” He admitted he was “hot the entire time, probably from the time I was twelve to the time I was thirty...I had either alcohol or pot in my system.” In retrospect Trent wished there had been a DARE program or mandatory drug testing. He said he acted out by fighting with other students, skipped school, and to him, all of those aberrant behaviors were cries for help. But, help didn’t come.

A few subjects had good information about warning signs. Devon was one of the most knowledgeable about warning signs. He had been adopted as a chance for his father to have a son. After his mother successfully conceived and bore a son, things “kind of turned for me.” Looking back, he can see that his father “had a problem trying to identify or trying to deal with the emotion of trying to have his own son, his own blood son, and then me.” The new baby came when Devon was five years old. He tried to be a dutiful son until the fifth grade, when he felt it was evident he would never gain his parents’ favor. No one said anything to him as his grades went from A’s and B’s to E’s and F’s, a clear warning sign, in his mind. Devon also thought the times were not in his favor. Asking for help just wasn’t the thing to do. He said he felt like a square peg that didn’t fit into a round hole and “there ain’t nobody made square holes for you.” As he described it, “Every child wants to please. It’s when a child isn’t allowed...when you quit throwing ‘em bones...even a kid

needs to be patted on the head.” To his credit Devon did not blame his younger brother for his problems. After being molested by a teacher while in the seventh grade, Devon started skipping school whenever he possibly could. “Everything went downhill, period. My whole attitude towards everything changed. I became closed in. I became self-reliant and any trust that I had, any capacity for trust that I had for society, was out the window – completely out the window.” Devon subsequently failed 7th grade, took it again, and left school for good in tenth grade.

Devon has thought about warning signs. He talked about when he changed his best friends as one indicator, and suggested that might be a good time for someone to start asking about a child’s choices. He was fairly sure that teachers know the cliques of students, who is being left out or left in, who wants to be left out and who is begging to get in. His concerns extended not only to a change in friends but also to a change in the type of friends he sought. He saw himself as someone who had been a “doer and over-achiever” crossing over to spend most of his time with underachievers. As a parent of a young 14 year-old girl, Devon is aware of the problems associated with a drastic change of type of clothing the individual wears and overall appearance. He communicated that he knew some of the changes were due to normal maturation, when girls start wearing baggy clothes to hide their natural physical appearance, but he also knew it may be a warning sign of other activities in their lives. He admitted his incarceration had been hard on his daughter. Some of her closest friends know, but having a father in prison is “nothing to brag about.”

Some of the subjects had general thoughts and suggestions for educators. Anton and Jeff both agreed that students need to be in a position where they are ready

to seek help. Anton once told his counselor, “If I’m going to stop doing drugs, I’m going to stop doing drugs.” Jeff expressed a desire to see teachers and counselors become more assertive. He said, “If they [students] don’t want to stop [doing drugs], there really isn’t anything you can do. But, you can’t NOT try. And you can’t NOT point out their good points.”

Facilities. Incarceration in either Pine Hills or Montana State Prison is not looked at by many subjects as having been a positive experience. Jeff did not spend time at Pine Hills himself, but others have told him that it’s terrible. “It’s not conducive to healthy behavior, and ...kids are just going to get worse and worse by going there.” When I queried Don about the aftercare he received following Pine Hills, he said not much was done. “No aftercare...in that...when I had aftercare after Pine Hills, all it was was check in once a month. That was the extent of aftercare.” When he completed his time at Pine Hills, he returned to Butte where he went to work as a dishwasher. He was 17 years old. In a later part of the interview, Don remarked that the once-a-month check-in lasted about one month. “They didn’t come after me and wonder why I didn’t check in or nothing.” Don had a profound realization about what he learned at Pine Hills. He said that he saw the burglaries that he participated in as his problem and did not see alcohol as a problem even though the money he obtained from the burglaries supported his alcohol addiction.

A philosophical thought offered by Mitch closes the open coding section. When he talked about careers, he saw education as a profession having some uphill battles and he drew this conclusion:

Policemen are corrupt. Being a fireman is an honest profession. In teaching there is no money. How am I supposed to go out and...you're looking at this as a kid, and you see these drug dealers. OK, this dude's got a lot of money – stealing drugs. He's probably got millions of dollars, which if he's a big-time drug dealer, he probably does. But this guy over here, this teacher that I got in school, he comes to work eight hours a day, and he busts his tail...'cause I'm not going to say teachers don't try. But a teacher comes his eight hours a day...drives an old car, barely making his payments, can't go out and enjoy...have any kind of life besides being a teacher, can't go out and enjoy life. So, I don't want to be no teacher, you know. What good is that? I'm not going to be making enough, so then the kids say, 'Well this kid in my class here...he's selling weed.' The students see he always has money. He's always pulling out a roll of bills.

Axial Coding

Five categories of data resulted from the open coding process. In axial coding, the data were de-contextualized into small parts that were then analyzed. Following this analysis, the parts were re-contextualized in a different way. Through this process, properties for each of the five categories were identified and were reported with their dimensional ranges.

The analysis of the re-contextualized data led to the identification of phenomena that directly related to the causal condition and the properties of that phenomenon. The relationships and properties which emerged from axial coding are referred to as “Causal Condition,” “Phenomenon,” “Context,” “Intervening

Condition,” “Action/Interaction,” and “Consequence.” These terms, synthesized from work by Strauss and Corbin (1998) are described below.

Causal Condition. Causal conditions are incidents that result in the occurrence or development of a phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The causal condition for each category in this study is the incarceration of the subject in the Montana State Prison. It is this condition that led to the development of each phenomenon.

Phenomenon. A phenomenon is an event or central issue (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The phenomenon that emerged during this study are the five categories of data that resulted from open coding. The specific phenomena include: (a) early trauma, (b) school attendance, (c) number of schools attended, (d) teacher attributes, and (e) suggestions for teachers.

Context. Context is “the specific set of properties that pertain to a phenomenon along a dimensional range” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As the data were de-contextualized and then put back together, the context of each phenomenon was directly linked to the phenomenon that had emerged. In this study each context has an intervening condition.

Intervening Condition. Intervening conditions are structural conditions that pertain to a phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). They are influenced by action and/or interactions.

Action/Interaction. Purposeful or deliberate acts that are taken to resolve a problem and in doing so shape the phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Consequence. Consequences are the results of action and interaction (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Table 9 illustrates the axial coding process and the progression emerging from each component in the analysis process.

Table 9

Axial Coding Process

Causal condition > phenomenon > context
Intervening condition > action/interaction > consequence

Axial coding began with the identification of a causal condition and the phenomena of that causal condition. Table 10 displays the causal condition and related phenomena identified during axial coding. Discussions of the specific phenomena will follow.

Table 10

Causal Condition and Phenomena

Causal Condition	Phenomena
Incarceration at Montana State Prison	Early trauma
	School attendance
	Number of schools attended
	Teacher attributes
	Suggestions for teachers

The phenomena listed in Table 10 emerged from the joining together of various contexts and the features of each context. For the purposes of this study, these features were: intervening condition, action/interaction, and consequence. Each phenomenon and its context are presented in table format. Following the table for each phenomenon, the context of that phenomenon and the features of each

context (“Intervening Condition,” “Action/Interaction,” and “Consequence.”) are given. The first phenomenon to be analyzed is “Early Trauma.”

The Phenomenon: Early Trauma

Early Trauma emerged from the synthesis of three contexts. Table 11 lists the phenomenon and the three contexts from which the early trauma phenomenon emerged.

Table 11

Phenomenon	Context
Early trauma	subjects recognize that rejection is a powerful influence on behavior
	sexual abuse by grandfather, teacher, or babysitter has a longstanding effect
	use of alcohol is prevalent

The following discusses the three contexts for the phenomenon of “early trauma” and the features of each context.

Early Trauma Context #1. Subjects in this study recognized that rejection is a powerful influence on behavior.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects viewed belonging to a family unit as important.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects lost sense of trust.
2. Subjects felt a sense of continually running.
3. Subjects believe they may have caused the rejection.

Consequence

1. Subjects continue to find trust issues a life-long dilemma.

2. Subjects find relationships hard to establish and maintain.
3. Subjects experience an ongoing sense of inadequacy.

Early Trauma Context #2. The affect of sexual abuse is powerful with long-term ramifications to the victim.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects were hesitant to talk about sexual abuse.
2. Subject was not believed when claims were made.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects waited until midway or later in the interview to reveal the abuse.
2. Subjects abused after infancy when discussing the sexual abuse did so in short, choppy sentences.
3. Subjects who were very young when sexual abuse occurred were more straightforward and less agitated when discussing the abuse.

Consequence

1. Subjects find sexual abuse hard to talk about therefore it makes detection more difficult.
2. Subjects who are sexually abused become angry. This anger increases if they are not believed when they report the abuse.
3. Subjects who were infants when the abuse occurred are more preoccupied with the consequences of prison life – acceptance to pre-release, how their child is doing – and not the abuse.

Early Trauma Context #3. Alcohol and drug abuse by parents of inmates is a common occurrence.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects revealed alcohol being served to them as youngsters.
2. Subjects, as children, did not look upon parents who provided the drugs and alcohol freely as being especially harmful.
3. Subjects reported use of methamphetamines by parents was not reported to police.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects drank with parents and parents' friends.
2. Subjects saw the violence that occurred when parents were drunk.
3. Subjects took part in drug use with parents.
4. Subjects took on meth use outside the influence of parents.

Consequence

1. It is difficult for children to see the alcohol abuse by parents as necessarily harmful, except when they have been the victims of violence because of it.
2. Subjects did not report that methamphetamine use began as something they learned from parents or was a drug given to them by parents.

The Phenomenon: Skipping School

The phenomenon Skipping School emerged from the synthesis of three contexts. Table 12 lists the phenomenon as well as the three contexts from which the skipping school phenomenon emerged.

Table 12

Phenomenon	Context
Skipping School	Location and means were not obstacles
	Many different factors leading to skipping school behavior
	Less pressure from family, teachers, student to maintain attendance in high school than there was in elementary or junior high

Listed below are the three contexts for the phenomenon of skipping school. The phenomenon and its features are a direct result of the axial coding process.

Skipping School Context #1. Students skip school from Florida to Alaska, in small towns, out in the country or in the inner city and are imaginative in the skills they acquired to refine the art of skipping school.

Intervening Condition

1. The ability of students to find ways to skip school with and without severe repercussions from home and school.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects reported it is easy to skip school when your parents are under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol.
2. Subjects found ways to skip school both in the home settings and in the group home settings.
3. Subjects reported skipping school as early as grade one. A majority of subjects who skipped school started in middle school or earlier.

4. Subjects report skipping school and chose to remain home or to stay within a short distance of the school.

Consequence

1. Subjects reported it's difficult to impress on students the importance of attendance in school.
2. Subjects felt there is no guarantee that early elementary students will not skip school.
3. Subjects suggested schools should look for students – as close as the school parking lot.
4. Subjects believe schools know which parents have phones and who are willing to visit the teacher or school. Their child may be right at home.

Skipping School Context #2. Students skipping school in grades 5-8 report adverse behavior while skipping school or as a reason for skipping school.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects know there is an availability of drugs and alcohol.
2. Subjects feel parents should engender more trust that their children will go to school.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects are more aware of the availability of drugs and alcohol.
2. Subjects have the sense of immortality.
3. Subjects see junior high as a time for experimenting with drugs and alcohol.

The favorite time to experiment is during school hours.

4. Subjects comment that if sexual molestation began in junior high it could lead to a high frequency of skipping school.

Consequence

1. Subjects need to know how drugs and alcohol will affect their mental and physical health.
2. Subjects need to understand their mortality.
3. Subjects need to know that school personnel will monitor attendance very heavily and notify parents when their children are not in school.

Skipping Context #3. Students in high school think lightly about school attendance knowing parents, school, and community are not likely to come after them with any temerity.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects reported that parental supervision was minimal.
2. Subjects were often in the near proximity of school, planning activities.
3. Subjects had a long history of skipping school.
4. Subjects were in or should have been in special education classes.
5. Subjects were not in the "in" crowd.

Action

1. Subjects knew punishment for skipping school was non-existent or ineffective.
2. Subjects believed law enforcement all too often looked the other way.
3. Subjects were coming back from Pine Hills or a group home and the school was not prepared to work with them.

4. Subjects sometimes slipped through the cracks and were tested late or their experiences in elementary special education classes were negative.

Consequence

1. Subjects skipped with impunity.
2. Subjects flaunted their activity by walking past the police station within the hours of the school day.
3. Subject's educational needs were not met and the feeling of inadequacy left subjects with an overwhelming feeling of apathy.

The Phenomenon of Number of Schools Attended

The phenomenon, Number of Schools Attended, emerged from the synthesis of four contexts. Table 13 lists this phenomenon and the four contexts from which the number of schools attended phenomenon emerged.

Table 13

Phenomenon	Context
Number of schools attended	One district throughout educational experience.
	Attendance at 2-3 different settings either public, parochial or court mandated.
	Attendance at 4 different settings either public, parochial or court mandated.
	Attendance at 5 different settings either public, parochial or court mandated.

The following are the four contexts for the phenomenon of number of schools attended. The phenomenon and its features are a direct result of the axial coding process.

Number of Different School Settings Context #1. Subjects attended school in the same district throughout their matriculation in various guises of success.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects attended a number of different schools at each level in the district.
2. Subjects communicated that changes in family dynamics often occurred.
3. Subjects experienced a sense of loss with no sibling in that school level.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects were asked to leave one school and transferred to another.
2. Subjects became confused when parental roles within the family changed and they were given contradictory information about what expectations parents had regarding studies.
3. Subjects reported a sense of discomfort at leaving the comfortable environment of elementary school. They articulated that as content learning became more critical, success diminished but not to the point where special education was considered as an alternative.

Consequence

1. Subjects suffered separation and loss feelings when leaving known associations in one school and needing to make new associations in a new school.

2. Subjects indicated that family dynamics played a significant role in their successes at school and, or failures.
3. Subjects needed more guidance and counseling to meet the rigors of each new level of schooling from elementary to junior high, and finally high school.
4. Subjects communicated information that special education classes were less effective if they were placed in these late in their educational process.

Number of Different School Settings Context #2. Subjects moving through any combination of public, parochial, or court- mandated instruction in two to three educational settings find their success ratio diminishing.

Intervening Condition

1. Subject's history of school experiences.
2. Subject's sibling's history of school experiences.
3. Subjects were mandated by the court to move from one setting to another.

Action/Interaction

1. Subject's parents sent them to a parochial or private school.
2. Subjects had to establish new relationships and assimilate into the new environment when they moved from one setting to another.

Consequence

1. Subjects felt non-support when they were mandated to attend a different school.
2. Subjects had a different cultural emphasis in the school environment when they moved from a private Native American school to a public school and vice-versa.

3. Subjects were experiencing a change in placement because of the actions of a sibling.

Number of Different School Settings Context #3. Subjects who moved through four educational settings whether public, private, or court mandated experienced difficulty maintaining a sense of educational ownership partly due to the time of change.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects experienced changes throughout educational experiences including public school, private school, or court mandated schooling.

Actions/Interaction

1. Subjects who moved from home to group or mandated setting experienced difficulty upon their return to the previous school.
2. Subjects who changed family settings as well as school settings experienced more difficulty than those subjects who came from the same family setting.

Consequences

1. Subjects articulated that aftercare programs would be beneficial to students, his or her families, and the schools.
2. Subjects indicated that children suffer as the result of changes in the caregiver.

Number of Different School Settings Context #4. Subjects who moved through five or more educational settings whether public, private, or court mandated found school to be a set of short-lived experiences with little relationship to their lives.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects experienced multiple enrollments at the same school or in the same district.
2. Subjects experienced court-mandated placement.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects never felt a sense of belonging in any school environment.
2. Subjects had to prove their worthiness in school groups many times over.
3. Subjects in this study had experienced all three settings – public, private and court-mandated.

Consequence

1. Subjects had little sense of connection to the school experience.
2. Subjects either tended to be reclusive and/or spoke or behaved outside the acceptable behavioral limits.
3. Subjects have survived in a life of triangulation between home, group home, and court-mandated facilities.

The Phenomenon of Teacher Attributes

The phenomenon Teacher Attributes emerged from the synthesis of four contexts.

Positive teacher attributes can be as simple as a smile, or as complicated as taking a child on an overnight trip. Negative attributes can be as simple as a frown or demeaning comment, or as complicated as assuring a student's failure. Table 14 lists the phenomenon referenced above, as well as the four contexts from which the Teacher Attributes phenomenon emerged.

Table 14

Teacher Attributes

Phenomenon	Context
Teacher Attributes	<p>Subjects were grateful to specific teachers for having brought them out of despair. Subjects realized that actions taken by teachers may have literally saved their lives. Praise for teacher's individual gifts and talents was heartfelt.</p> <p>Teachers were warm, caring and respectful. They were accessible, good with one-on-one instruction and they made everyone do their best.</p> <p>Teachers were vicious and vindictive. One allowed a student to have an affair with her. Diverse cultural values were ignored by teachers.</p> <p>Teachers did not take learning styles in account. They were there to collect their paychecks. Classes were too large and impersonal. Individual differences could not be addressed.</p>

The following are the four contexts for the phenomenon of teacher attributes. The phenomenon and its features are a direct result of the axial coding process.

Teacher Attributes Context #1. Students said that when they admired and respected teachers they would try to do their best. These teachers had an impact on students' lives in a positive way.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects had past experiences with teachers and school personnel.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects appreciated when extra care and help were given so freely.
2. Subjects gained a sense of self-worth.

3. Subjects said their lives were changed by one special teacher.

Consequence

1. Subjects wanted to excel, work hard, and succeed.
2. Subjects found that respect engenders respect.
3. Subjects found they wanted to help with students after release from prison.
4. Subjects wanted to repay the praise they got for individual talents by continuing work using that talent.

Teacher Attributes Context #2. Students found they wanted to be like their teacher. They found teachers to be generally accessible, caring and good with one-on-one instruction. Teachers would encourage students to hand in work that was their best attempt.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects had poor experiences with past teachers and found the present teacher to be a positive change.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects wanted to please their teacher.
2. Subjects wanted teachers to pay attention to what was going on in their lives whether it was personal, sports, or academics.
3. Subjects said it was obvious when a teacher enjoyed being with a diverse group of children.
4. Subjects sensed when a teacher was trying to establish a connection and not be aloof.

Consequence

1. Subjects were at ease with the teaching methodology.
2. Subjects said that teachers had the capacity to mold and shape the thoughts of their students.
3. Subjects felt that when they respected their teachers, they would gain respect for themselves, something that had rarely happened to them in the past.

Teacher Attributes #3. Personal negative attacks on individual children make a mark that cuts deeper than a sword. Because of these behaviors, subjects may exhibit a lack of self-esteem and may ultimately become an abuser themselves.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects remember past abuses as if they happened yesterday.
2. Subjects will show how these attacks damaged them by exhibiting aberrant behavior sometimes concurrently with suffering the abuse and sometimes through unacceptable behavior in later years.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects reported teacher frustration with their disability.
2. Subjects reported being promoted to the next grade because the teacher could remove them more easily from the class with this method.
3. Subjects felt teachers did not care if they reached their potential or not.
4. Subjects reported that the school did not follow through with parental interaction when they were perceived to be non-caring or non-cooperative.

Consequence

1. Subjects reported that teachers failed to provide all children the opportunity of a free and appropriate public education.
2. Subjects felt that teachers did not pursue a working relationship with parents of children for whom they had concerns.

Teacher Attributes #4. Children pick up a general negative tone in the classroom as a precedent for negative actions on their part. Creativity is non-existent and open dialog and discussion cannot take place.

Intervening Conditions

1. General malaise over the classroom.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects said a less structured classroom teaching style would be helpful. They said there was little content of an experimental nature tried in the classroom.
2. Subjects reported less patience on the part of the teacher and less willingness to help students who may be experiencing a problem.
3. Subjects reported that without someone expecting them to succeed, they did not aspire to success.

Consequence

1. Subjects believed that a general negative tone in the classroom brings out negative behaviors for both teachers and students.
2. Subjects did not look forward to coming to school and oftentimes went home during the day.

3. Subjects communicated that the energy and synergy a positive room engenders was very beneficial for them.

The Phenomenon: Suggestions for Teachers

The phenomenon Suggestions for Teachers emerged from the synthesis of four contexts. Subjects have suggestions about what works in a classroom either from experiencing it as a student, seeing it in their children's school experience, or by thinking about things that will work well in a classroom without relating it to self or family. Table 15 lists the phenomenon as well as the four contexts from which the teacher attributes phenomenon emerged.

Table 15

Suggestions for Teachers

Phenomenon	Context
Suggestions for Teachers	More hands-on instruction in smaller groups during shorter time period. Utilize sex ed time to include drug and alcohol abuse.
	Career counseling and personal counseling have a place in elementary, junior high and high school.
	Warning signs for potential delinquent or troubled youth are documented but not widely disseminated.
	Correctional facilities do not appear to be the most positive setting for public education.

The following lists the four contexts for the phenomenon of suggestions for teachers.

The phenomenon and its features are a direct result of the axial coding process.

Suggestions Context #1. Subjects understood that the balance between telling children what to do and giving them the freedom of choice to grow into adults can be

tenuous at best. They do, however, know there were teachers who made learning a positive experience.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects reported that in their school experiences there were teachers who made learning positive and teachers who made learning an unpleasant task.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects reported a need to smooth out transitions between elementary, junior high, and high school.
2. Subjects reported smaller class size and more hands-on instruction conducive to learning.
3. Subjects reported teachers who actively engaged them into thinking creatively and who valued their opinions.
4. Subjects reported teachers who took little time with students and appeared to value monetary remunerations more than teaching.

Consequence

1. Subjects reported interaction and involvement in instructional planning gave them a sense of ownership.
2. Subjects reported times of being allowed to think “outside the box” as positive and important to their success.
3. Subjects reported meaningful assignments were more apt to be completed.

Suggestions Context #2. Career counseling and personal counseling is most effective when begun early and continued.

Intervening Condition

1. Past experiences with counselors, both career and personal.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects worked best for teachers who were involved in their lives beyond school.
2. Subjects didn't see an applicability of what they were learning to life experiences.
3. Subjects felt they were less valued than students who possessed more ability.

Consequence

1. Subjects thought lack of teacher involvement can lead to student disenfranchisement with school.
2. Subjects saw applicability of learning to future avocation or vocations as integral to their success.

Suggestions Context #3. Warning signs need to be heeded. Students may not recognize dangers, or they may find known dangers difficult and uncomfortable to share with others.

Intervening Condition

1. Subjects believed there was a lack of teacher preparation to know what to do when warning signs are exhibited.
2. Subjects believed that there was a lack of early and effective intervention.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects either knowingly or unknowingly displayed warning signs.
2. Subjects thought teachers were ill equipped to help them.
3. Subjects sensed teachers did not want to get involved in their lives beyond the classroom.

Consequences.

1. Subjects' warning signs went unheeded.
2. Subjects saw the benefit of teachers knowing warning signs either overtly or covertly and the added value of teachers knowing the reporting agencies.
3. Subjects saw value in training students to know the appropriateness of seeking help.

Suggestions Context #4. Interventions must occur long before incarceration in youth prisons or adult facilities. If this is not addressed, the prognosis for success is far less likely and recidivism will probably occur. Children do not have time for parents to self-discover the help that is available but need knowledgeable school personnel to prompt this.

Intervening Conditions

1. Proactive measures are not used.

Action/Interaction

1. Subjects found themselves in youth court and adjudicated to youth facilities without interventions having been tried.
2. Subjects felt teachers knew who was most likely to need interventions.
3. Subjects felt teachers did not understand their role as reporter.

Consequence

1. Subjects believed that teachers need to act on their knowledge and not wait for more difficulties to occur before acting. Knowing that a child “has been that way since kindergarten” doesn’t preclude intervention.
2. Subjects see lack of a working partnership with youth probation office as continued lack of effective action.

Selective Coding

Strauss and Corbin (1998) defined selective coding as “the process of integrating and refining the theory” (p. 143). In the process of selective coding, the researcher integrates the major categories that have emerged from data analysis and integrates them to form a larger theoretical theme or theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The integration and analysis of the data in this study has resulted in the development of such a theory.

These data that developed from an analysis of the data in this study and the interrelationships that exist between the data make up this section of the study. The story line that follows is developed from the analysis of the data and their interrelationships. The resulting story line emerged from analyses that took place in the axial coding process and focused on the five phenomena. A grounded theory is the result.

The context of each phenomenon is contained in the following storyline. The story line and the interrelationships of the phenomena are presented in narrative form: “Ideas from inmates at Montana State Prison – how schools, homes and communities

can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest?”

The subjects in this study report **belonging to a family unit** as important. Without the stability of the family unit, subjects describe a **lost sense of trust**. People they could at one time depend on are no longer available to them because of divorce, abandonment, death, and desertion. This does not keep subjects from searching. Many recall a **sense of continually running** or longing without reaching a goal. They do not recognize rejection as something they may have had no control over. Because they are the ones rejected, many believe they may have **caused the rejection**. The realization that perhaps it was someone else rejecting them does not completely allay those feelings of mistrust. Many report an on-going struggle they have in their adult life, trying to establish trust with their spouses, their children, or co-workers. They find **trust issues a life-long dilemma**, one that is not easily solved. The lack of belonging that rejection engenders is reflected in all guises, not the least of which is the **ongoing sense of inadequacy** many find current in their lives today. The stigma of leaving the prison and having to report their felonious experiences is a concern expressed by many of the subjects. Pre-release centers are reportedly very important for survival, because the inmates are given chances to prove themselves worthy of relationships and employment.

Subjects who report sexual abuse, whether by parent, friend of parent, grandparent, babysitter, friend of babysitter, or other person feel **hesitant to talk about sexual abuse**. Some recall that they did what they thought to be the right

thing: they reported the incident to parents. When they were not believed, they describe a feeling of having been assaulted again. It was devastating.

Subjects remember parents abusing drugs and alcohol. They remember **alcohol being served to them as youngsters**, and because the providers of the drugs and alcohol were their parents, the subjects, who were children at the time, did not look upon the providers as being especially harmful to them. Subjects remember **sharing a drink** with their **parents** and their **parents' friends**. The alcohol of choice was beer, but other hard liquors were shared as well. Some took part in **drug use with their parents**, including such substances as marijuana, cocaine and heroin. The subjects of this study who turned to **meth abuse** as young adults did so **outside the influence of parents**. **Alcoholism** was a common element of many subjects' lives without much fanfare, unless they were witness to or were a victim of violence because of it. Sharing a beer with one's father, or grandfather; serving wine with the family meal; seeing your parents have a drink or two and calling it "social drinking" were commonplace experiences. Some who were incarcerated after having been found guilty of four driving "under the influence" violations, found it strange that such a seemingly innocuous event could catapult them into prison when they felt they were just an alcoholic.

Skipping school was a common act to many subjects in the study. They reported a **multitude of ways to skip school with and without severe repercussions from home and school**. Some recall the **ease** with which they pulled off the skip **when parents were under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol**. Some remember the school calling home but the efforts to assure better attendance all went for naught,

and eventually the school called less frequently or not at all. Absenting oneself from school did not always have the same starting point. **Students** found ways to **skip school from home or group settings**. The question of what do with one's time when not in school left little to the imagination for some as they report remaining home or within a short distance of school. Others recall more creative ventures. There is no guarantee that early elementary students will not skip school and some remembered starting skipping school **early in their education process** as early as **grade one**. The majority of the subjects were well versed by the time they reached middle school in how to skip school. Efforts to impress on students the importance of coming to school often went unheeded.

Subjects who skipped in **grades 5-8** report **more adverse behavior** while skipping school or as a reason for skipping school. Some recalled they were very familiar with the **availability of drugs and alcohol** even though they were only fourteen years old at the time. Overdosing was not or didn't appear to be a concern because of the **strong feeling of immortality** expressed by subjects when they were in **middle school** or **junior high**. Subjects recalled **peer influences** as another part of the mindset of junior high students. Who better to skip school with than with friends? **School hours** are judged the **best time** to assure that all can get together to experiment with drugs and alcohol. The subject who reported being **molested** starting in **junior high** also had a **high frequency of skipping school**.

When asked about their thoughts and perceptions about skipping school in grades 5-8, subjects want today's students to know how **drugs and alcohol** will affect their **mental and physical health**. They want young people to understand they are

mortal beings and they want schools to **notify parents** when their children are not in attendance.

Subjects report a heightened sense of laissez-faire among the **high school** crowd. Parents did **minimal supervision**, subjects had a long history of skipping school and oftentimes they could be found in the **near proximity of the school**. Many subjects report their place in the school pecking order was at or near the bottom. They were **not in** the “**in**” crowd and oftentimes they were **enrolled in special education** classes.

Subjects who continued or started **skipping school** in high school knew **punishment** was **non-existent or ineffective**. Many had reached the age of sixteen when mandatory attendance is no longer enforceable. Subjects report **flaunting** their newly found **independence** by making sure they were visible to authorities. **Law enforcement** often **looked the other way**. Those who made the attempt to come to school, albeit on an irregular basis, found they had an overwhelming **feeling of apathy** due to their **feeling of inadequacy**.

Many subjects reported expending their whole education effort in **one elementary, junior high, and high school district**. They recall, however, success was not always forthcoming as one could attend **all the** different **elementary schools** in one district or **family dynamics** might **change**. Subjects report other calamities occurring in the seemingly safe environment of a single school district. Children who live with their mother and father in their respective homes within the same school district can get a **mixed message** about school effort. Others remember **changing**

from **elementary to junior high school** as **leaving** a comfortable “**cocoon**,” or moving from simple reading to more complex content reading as a real conundrum.

If they had to **change** from one elementary school to another in the same district, subjects reported **leaving** known **associations** and they still had to establish **new friends and associates** in the same manner as they would if they were making a change to a completely different district. Subjects recall **change** to each **higher level** of **education** as **traumatic** and the trauma was only compounded if, after reaching high school, it was determined special education classes were in order.

The **success** reported by subjects who went to two or three different educational settings including public, private or court-mandated instruction was **dependent in part on their past school experiences, the past school experiences of siblings, and whether or not the new setting was mandated** by the courts. Some saw a mandated setting as the only way to leave an abusive setting.

The dilemma recalled by some subjects was the **parental decision**, not in accordance with their own, **to change settings** – usually from a public to private school setting. This entailed the **re-establishment** of their “**pecking order**” in the new school. Subjects felt a sense of **betrayal** by being mandated to go to a different setting, especially if it were for a sibling’s wrongdoing. For some the new setting meant a **change in cultural boundaries**, which was painful.

Subjects who reported **changing** school settings **four times** found themselves **lacking** a sense of **educational ownership**. With each change from a group or mandated school setting back to the neighborhood school there an increased sense of not belonging. When asked their thoughts and perceptions, subjects would like to see

the **establishment** of an aggressive **aftercare program** designed to benefit the student, his or her family and the school. They also recognize the confusion for children when there is a change in caregiver status.

Subjects who recall being in **five or more educational settings** found **school** to be a **short-lived experience**. It didn't matter whether the change was from multiple enrollments at the same school or in a different district or court-mandated placement. When subjects moved multiple times, they recall **never really belonging**, having to **prove themselves many times over** and in the end, they had **no real connection to school**. Typically, subjects describe a triangulation between home – group home and court-mandated facility.

Subjects' perceptions about teachers fell within four general parameters – personal positive, general positive, personal negative and general negative. Subjects who felt a **personal positive** relationship with their teacher felt they were important. After school, before school, between classes or during a teacher prep period – the personal positive teacher had **time for them**. Subjects wanted to **excel**, wanted to **work hard and** wanted to **succeed**. Ironically, this personal positive relationship not only had an impact on subjects – it was the **impetus for subjects who want to help others upon release**.

Subjects remembered the **general positive** teacher as someone they **wanted to be like** and someone they **wanted to please**. It is also their perception that general positive teachers **enjoyed being with children** – and they **wanted to know** what's going on in a **child's personal, sports, or academic life**. It mattered to them. Subjects recalled how easy it was to learn in their classes and how the teacher seemed

to **mold and shape their thoughts** to a higher level. Subjects remembered, too, the respect they held for their teacher.

Personal negative attacks were reported as the most damaging. Subjects saw how these attacks impacted their own negative behaviors both at the time of the attack and in later years. If they were enrolled in special education, they remembered **teacher frustration with their disability** and the likelihood that they would be **passed on** simply to have them out of the way. Subjects remembered **teachers who did not care if they reached their true potential** or not.

Subjects recalled teachers who did not attack them personally but who appeared to be “**most joyous on Friday afternoons or before vacations.**” They didn’t enjoy coming to school to work with students. Their **classroom** had **little** in the way of **creativity**; most instruction was **highly structured** and there was **little patience** for students who may be experiencing difficulty with the subject. There simply was **not the energy and synergy** that a **positive room engenders**.

When asked about **suggestions for teachers**, many recalled thinking “if only the teacher would **ask me how it works** rather than have me write it out.” They suggested **hands-on instruction** and **hands-on testing** as part of the normal fare. Many cited the need for **smoother transitions** from elementary to junior high and to high school with **smaller class sizes** throughout. Some remembered teachers who allowed them to **think creatively** and who **rewarded them** if their idea was good, without judging solely on the final outcome. Subjects recalled doing “**busy work**” ad infinitum as a poor suggestion then and now.

Subjects recalled seeing **little applicability** of what they were learning to life. Several suggested **teaching why it's important to learn class material** rather than expecting no further questions. **Teachers** who were **involved in their lives beyond school** seemed to make **better sense of the connection**. Without the connection, **it was difficult to see how learning applied to future avocations or vocations**. Many suggested that **making a connection between schoolwork and career counseling** would make attending school more attractive. **Having a counselor who could also deal with personal issues was not only a suggestion, it was a mandate.**

Subjects did not recall consciously calling out for help or recognizing their own warning signs. In retrospect they remembered a **lack of teacher preparation to know and act** on warning signs and a **lack of early and effective interventions**. They remembered **teachers** who may have seen the **signs** and some who did **not** think it was **their place to get involved** but did not know to whom their concerns should be addressed. Again, subjects knew this **involvement** and **knowledge of what to do and when to do it** may have made a difference in their lives and they asked that it not be forgotten now.

Subjects suggested that **interventions occur long before incarceration** in youth prisons or adult facilities takes place. They remembered teachers who did nothing, perhaps, in retrospect, because they **didn't understand their role as reporter** and didn't **go beyond the mindset** of "**he's been that way since kindergarten.**" Subjects remembered their youth probation officer and do not think anyone in their school knew who he or she was. The participants in this study

suggested this **lack of a working partnership with the youth probation office** would **lead to a continued lack of effective action**.

The interrelationships between the phenomena resulted in the story found during selective coding. Final analysis of data from open and axial coding re-contextualized in selective coding resulted in the emergence of a core category labeled “Suggestions or ideas from inmates at Montana State Prison regarding ways schools, homes and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to later arrest or adjudication.” This core category is related to the five phenomena that were examined in axial coding. Once the core category has emerged from the analysis of data, phenomena are then referred to as sub-categories. The core category and its interrelationships with the now termed sub-categories form the structure of the narrative report.

Core Category. The core category was based upon the interrelationships between previously identified subcategories that evolved during the selective coding process. The core category was related to the following five subcategories: (a) early trauma, (b) school attendance, (c) number of schools attended, (d) teacher attributes and (e) suggestions for teachers. These five categories were also related to each other.

Subcategories. The interrelationships between subcategories are discussed below under their respective headings. The first is “Early Trauma.”

Early Trauma. Subjects whose young lives were impacted by trauma including physical and mental abuse to other family members or themselves were less

likely to have proper well baby care and a nurturing childhood where caregivers could help prepare them for school. Early trauma impacts later school attendance and may be a factor in number of schools attended.

School Attendance. “School Attendance” was impacted by a child’s lack of ability borne out in part by parental neglect seen in “Early Trauma” and later in childhood. If children are not supported in their efforts to understand what is going on in school, they will not feel good about being there, anymore than an adult would feel comfortable placed in a position where there is a total lack of knowledge. If children don’t feel comfortable at school because of a lack of support, they will absent themselves. If they have been physically and mentally abused during infancy or if they have seen a family member undergo such abuse, and it continues in pre-school and early elementary grades, they will find it difficult, if not impossible to be at school. They will not be able to concentrate on learning. The more they skip, the further behind they get. The further a child gets behind, the more likelihood of failure and consequent change of school setting.

Number of Schools Attended. The early trauma, including parental drug and alcohol abuse, has an effect on parents as well. Having to change jobs may mean changing location. Changing location means children changing schools. Changing schools puts a hardship on children. The new friendship circle, the new rules, the new bus route and the new curriculum in the middle of the year is difficult at best. A child in a home filled with anger and hate, drugs and alcohol, divorce and estrangement finds changing schools, and attending school, a hardship they must endure.

Teacher Attributes. Teachers can be generally positive or negative. They can attack individual children negatively or they can positively impact the life of one child. “Early trauma”, “School Attendance”, and “Number of Schools Attended” all relate to a child’s success in dealing with positive or negative teachers. A child growing up with negativity as a family hallmark because of early trauma, lack of educational support and constantly being on the move will find a personal negative attack very hurtful. A child with no early trauma, strong parental support and stability in the community will either be able to shake off the attack or will have the support system to help address the issue in a positive, problem-solving way.

Suggestions for Teachers. “Suggestions for Teachers” addresses all the other sub-categories. Subjects talked about “School Attendance” and how difficult it was for them to go to school. They did not go to school until bruises from beatings had a chance to go away. Teachers cognizant of excessive absences may discover abuse issues and appropriately report it to an administrator. When talking about the “Number of Schools Attended” subjects sometimes shook their heads when asked about it. Two remarked at the number of times they returned to a school they’d attended earlier. They see clearly the means they sometimes used to once again establish friendship circles in their “new” school were not always appropriate.

Summary

The data collected in this study, obtained through a semi-structured interview process were subjected to open, axial and selective coding. This chapter represents an analysis of the findings. Several themes evolved from the open coding process which were decontextualized into data segments during the axial coding process. The

micro analysis that took place during axial coding resulted in re-contextualizing the relationships that had earlier occurred. As the axial process concluded, five phenomena were identified as well as the contextual component of each phenomena.

Selective coding of the re-contextualized data represents the final analysis. Selective coding employs a macro analysis of the data. From this macro analysis a core category emerged from the phenomena that were identified during axial coding. During selective coding the phenomenon are termed sub-categories as they have a direct relationship to the core category. The interrelationship of the sub-categories then forms the basis of the grounded theory which comprises the narrative report.

In Chapter Five the findings of this study are summarized including references to the open, axial and selective coding processes. A broader set of data were used to examine the findings to answer the central question of this study: What suggestions or ideas do inmates at Montana State Prison have regarding ways schools, homes and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest? Chapter Five concludes with implications for practitioners, and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Qualitative research is inductive. It allows the researcher to not only hear the voices of subjects, but also to hear their animated speech and see the sadness in their eyes. These are human beings incarcerated in a maximum-security prison day in and day out, year in and year out. Part of the research process of this investigator, not related to the study but integral to the success of the interview process, were times when subjects talked about their own children and their concerns for them. We also took time to talk about future plans, as I asked, “When do you discharge and what are your goals, your plans for the future?” This was very important, because it allowed them to see that I was concerned about their welfare and well being once they leave the prison.

This chapter includes a summary of the findings from Chapter Four. It begins with the core category, “Suggestions or ideas from inmates at Montana State Prison regarding ways schools, homes and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest,” and the five subcategories: (a) Early Trauma, (b) School Attendance, (c) Number of Schools Attended, (d) Teacher Attributes, and (e) Suggestions for Teachers. The interrelation between the core category and subcategories and between the subcategories themselves acknowledges a macro view perspective.

The first topic of discussion, *Broad-Spectrum Analysis*, describes the move from micro to macro perspective of the analyzed data to formulate a grounded theory. The section concludes with a look at the relationship between the categories and their connection to extant literature. A discussion of the central question and sub-questions posed in Chapter One follows. *The General Implications of the Findings* is included to illustrate what implications this study might divulge to practitioners, while recommendations for both practitioners and further research will give more succinct direction. A description of the qualitative procedures employed during this study begins the following summary.

Summary

Broad-Spectrum Analysis

The grounded theory concerning the “Suggestions or ideas inmates at Montana State Prison have regarding ways schools, homes and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest,” is the result of a synthesis of the analysis of the original qualitative data. The qualitative processes of open, axial and selective coding following the format suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998) are used together to produce the grounded theory. The five categories that were discovered through axial coding are the basis for the grounded theory. A sixth category was elucidated during selective coding and it encompasses the other five. This sixth category was termed the “core” category as it was integrated with the five subcategories: (a) Early Trauma, (b) School Attendance, (c) Number of Schools Attended, (d) Teacher Attributes, and (e) Suggestions for Teachers.

The grounded theory emerged from both the micro perspective of the axial coding and the macro perspective of selective coding. The language of the theory that came forward was in the manner of qualitative research. It used thick, rich descriptions (Jick, 1979) that gave the reader an opportunity to grasp the phenomenon in a way not previously illustrated. The perceptions of prisoners with regard to their early childhood and school experiences and how those perceptions led them in part to where they are today became apparent during this process of analysis. This broad spectrum view of the data seen through the different analyses of the study shows that the way inmates feel they can help young people the most is through sharing their early childhood experiences, their record of school attendance, the times they moved, and how teachers treated them and through the suggestions they made for teachers. They realized these facets of their lives together make up who they are despite the obstacles they encountered. Some fell in the process and they know why they fell. It is their hope that young people hearing their stories will not stumble.

Exploration of the Central Question and Sub-questions

The interview process was the source of the data that led to the relationship between the core category “Suggestions or ideas inmates at Montana State Prison have regarding ways schools, homes and communities can better address the needs of adolescents to intervene or prevent the occurrence of youthful transgressions that may lead to adjudication or later arrest,” and the five subcategories: (a) Early Trauma, (b) School Attendance, (c) Number of Schools Attended, (d) Teacher Attributes and (e) Suggestions for Teachers.

The sub-questions of the study are closely tied to the five subcategories discovered through axial coding. The first sub-question addresses the issue of educational experiences.

What new or continuing issues relating to their educational experience do inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history? Four of the five subcategories found through axial coding are related to school. The first school-related subcategory addresses school attendance. Seven of the thirty subjects said skipping school was not an issue in their education. Their experiences ranged from the subject who ultimately graduated from the University of Tennessee, to the subject who grew up in a strict Mormon family, to the subject who had to choose between going to live with a relative or go to Pine Hills. The others included a Native American who struggled against all odds to stay in school, a subject whose French-speaking family sent him to the University of Notre Dame for two years to study journalism, a subject who came from California to the relative calm of the Sun River Valley in Montana, and a subject whose father pulled him out of school when it appeared he could be of more help and perhaps learn more about the stucco business than he was allowing himself to learn in school. The rest skipped school with impunity in varying degrees from the first grade through high school. Overall, three-quarters of all the interviewees in the study saw skipping school as a factor in their subsequent lives of crime.

The number of schools attended was large for many. Chapter Four includes a discussion of those subjects who attended the same school district throughout but who experienced a multitude of dilemmas within that district, including changing

caregivers, all of whom live in the same district, to one who spent his growing up years in a college town where his father taught philosophy. This subject had no focus, no sense of direction, could not make himself study and eventually got tied up in a prescription drug crime. Subjects in two or three settings often found themselves counting one of the settings as court-mandated placement. Those in excess of four settings include the subject who “can’t remember how many elementary schools he attended,” but he does remember that he “changed high schools ten times.” The subcategory of Number of Schools Attended impacted many of the subjects. Interestingly, this was the first time many reflected upon the negative impact of the number of schools they attended.

The subcategory of teacher attributes was further dissected into Personal Positive, General Positive, Personal Negative and General Negative realms. Subjects spent a long time talking about teachers. For some, this was their world of safety and caring, a world long lost at home. The last subcategory related to their educational experience includes an outpouring of suggestions subjects had for teachers. A further categorization into instruction, counseling/caring, warning signs and facilities gave more clarity to the discussion.

What new or continuing issues relating to other non-educational experiences in their lives do inmates believe to have played a role in their criminal history? The subcategory of Early Trauma was very revealing. Of all the categories, this subcategory of Early Trauma had the most impact. Growing up in a home where a mother and siblings were continually beaten, where mothers and fathers were more concerned about maintaining their drug habits above anything else, or where one’s

brothers come home drunk so often no landlord allowed the family to stay through the month, impacted everything about a subject's life. Most saw early childhood abuses as a thing that happened, yet unrelated to later life events. Only rarely did subjects agree with one who put it best: "I am here because of what happened when I was a very young child."

What factors in their adjudication history emerge from inmates' perspective as the most prominent? The one issue that came up time and again was methamphetamines. Subjects revealed how methamphetamines "[ate] the user from the inside out," ruining organs, teeth, hair, and eyesight. They told of the hallucinatory effects, the sleeplessness that accompany its use and the deeds they did to get the next fix. They told how easy it is to make methamphetamine products and revealed simple recipes that didn't require the use of anything beyond red or blue-capped Raid, a cookie sheet, window screen, and jumper cables. Methamphetamine is relatively cheap, and its use is growing faster than anyone in law enforcement had anticipated. Its use is beginning to show up in younger and younger victims. It was the drug of choice among many subjects in this study. One told this researcher, "It's the Devil," and they seem to believe it to be true.

Broad-Spectrum Analysis Related to the Literature. Data from the semi-structured interviews has been re-contextualized and examined in light of the three sub-questions and the central question that frame this study. Extant literature supports the data found regarding sub-categories. Subjects' perceptions of the effect of early trauma are borne out by Lingren (1996), Loeber, et al. (2003), Keenan and Wakschlag (2000), Matherne and Thomas (2001), and Stattin et al. (1993). All

researchers support what was said about the trauma that results when parents have addictions and the role these addictions played in their abilities to care for children.

School attendance was seen as a big factor among the lives of many subjects, concurring with such writers Gavin (1997), Baker, et al. (2001), Huizinga, et al. (1995) and Sigmon, et al. (1999). Farrington (1995) wrote, "Poverty, low intelligence and early school failure lead to truancy and lack of educational qualifications, which in turn leads to low status jobs and periods of unemployment, all of which, 'make it harder to achieve goals legitimately.'" Two of the subjects began their truancy patterns in grade one.

Mobility factors, or the number of schools attended was another important variable to analyze. Curran (1999) lectured in a criminology class shortly after the Columbine shooting that, ... "mobility may directly affect delinquency, and not be mediated by the parental handling of supervision, attachment, and discipline" (p. 3). Thornberry, Smith, Rivera, Huizinga (1999) and Stouthamer-Loeber (1999) also believe that mobility is a relevant factor.

Teacher attributes have been the subject of many books, papers, pamphlets and presentations and they are not lost on the subjects in the study. Do teachers make a difference? These subjects believed they do. Hattie (200), (2003), Sergiovanni (1996), Kohn (2000), DePree (1992) among a great many others, have put to paper what these subjects feel. Not one mentioned degree qualifications or licensure, but all mentioned that if teachers had either extreme caring or extreme disregard for the human spirit they were remembered by subjects and they had an influence on their students.

General Implications of the Findings

Analysis of the data from this study resulted in four general implications for educators, hospital administrators, juvenile justice and the state legislature. These implications deserve careful consideration given the overcrowding of prisons and the vast sums it takes to house inmates in a lock down facility. These implications are:

(a) Funding for Alternative Housing for Youth (e.g. Hostels), (b) Breaking the Generational Cycle, (c) Well Family Hospital Programs, and (d) Teacher Education.

Funding for Alternative Housing for Youth

The juvenile justice system processes many young people only one time. They make a mistake, are contrite and are never seen in juvenile court again. There are others who are habitually in front of the youth court judge. Points are accumulated for such things as curfew violation, being in possession of alcohol, tobacco or drugs, stealing cars or assault. If the offense is of a very serious nature (e.g. the use of a handgun to shoot or threaten someone), the young offender can “earn” twelve points with one offense. These young offenders know with the accrual of twelve points, they will be sent to juvenile detention at Pine Hills for boys or Riverside for girls. However, that rarely happens because once the majority of points is reached, most offenders step away from further criminal activity for a time. This up and down procedure is not a deterrent, and it is not without cost. The youth probation officer, the youth court, the overseeing of community services, if applicable, and record keeping of these services requires funding. With every new cycle, the young person adds a new layer of seeking ways to outsmart the justice system. Chances are that sooner or later the child will be sent to Pine Hills or

Riverside if he or she is under 17, and to Deer Lodge or Billings if he or she has reached the age of 18. The costs now rise exponentially. Juvenile or adult lock down facilities cost in the thousands of dollars per year. For male prisoners at Deer Lodge, the cost is approximately \$25,000 per year. The therapy to work through the layers of deception, anger and guilt is long lived.

The implication of the finding that youth in the juvenile court system continually violate the condition of their probation, but not to the point of reaching the twelve-point limit that would send them to either Pine Hills (boys) or Riverside (girls), calls for action as these youth are at-risk for adult criminal behavior (Loeber, et al. 2003). One option is to ask for legislative approval to fund alternative youth hostels where young offenders would be placed with seven to nine others in a nurturing environment where offending behaviors are modified. A cost analysis would have to be done. The human suffering analysis is complete: the men at Montana State Prison bear witness.

Breaking the Generational Cycle

The data from this study shows early trauma, including mental and physical abuse and parental use of drugs and alcohol, to be major factors in the lives of inmates at the prison. Many of the subjects in the Intensive Therapy Unit are themselves abusers of drugs and alcohol and admit to mentally or physically abusing others. Unless the cycle is interrupted, chances are the children of these subjects will, as well, find the invitation to experiment with drugs and alcohol too great an enticement to turn down. The implication is that we need to intervene and interrupt the inevitable cycle. One way would be to initiate a program to mentor very small

groups of children of inmates both at the men's facility in Deer Lodge and the women's prison in Billings. The costs of such a program might appear exorbitant to some, but compared to the cost of incarceration and human suffering, a mentoring program would be a bargain.

Well Family Hospital Programs

Raising children is no easy matter. Even for children fortunate enough to be born into a family with a relatively stable family, there are times when parenting is very complex work. When one considers the children born to parents who either have no parenting skills or who cannot leave their addictive lifestyles to raise a child, the implications of a well family program become clear. The parents just described may not be changed themselves, but the effort will be to give them information and coax them along to care for the infant in their lives. For those children, yet unable to speak for themselves, the chance of reaching adulthood as a healthy individual is speculative. The evidence indicates the need to promote a healthier intergeneration cycle. The implication is that if we fail to support such an effort, more of the same unhealthy cycles will continue.

Teacher Education

As one subject put it, "Teachers find out soon enough that working with kids like me is a real 'pain in the butt,' but it's too late to do something else." The implication is to give future teachers more insight. Teaching a student who comes to school drunk on the bus or who is on heroin by age ten is not what many pre-service teachers envision a career in education to be. Perhaps these reality situations should be part of the practicum early on in the program. Pre-service teachers can either roll

up their sleeves and take up the most awesome challenge of the teacher's role in society or find some other profession. The reality that is implied is that we owe potential teachers the whole story of what they may be asked to do. If they continue in programs preparing themselves for pK-12 education, knowing about the at-risk children they will encounter is essential.

Recommendations

Several recommendations have resulted from the findings in this study. For clarity, they are divided into two groups: (a) Recommendations for Practitioners, and (b) Recommendations for Future Studies. The first section is for parents, hospital personnel, school personnel, students, and pre-service teachers.

Recommendations for Practitioners

Prisoners who are as young as eighteen may have experienced their last school day as many as four or five years earlier; the gap for older prisoners may be much longer. This does not in any way change their feelings about what the school might have done differently for them. Most of their thoughts relate to educators and include some of the following:

1. "If you tell me I could be a star basketball player if I really work at it, but you are never there to show me "how to work," the idea of being a great player means nothing." Teacher involvement and support in extra curricular activities (athletics) reinforces students' desire to participate and develop camaraderie with classmates.
2. "If I come back to school in the second, fourth and seventh grade, know that I am being tossed from Point A to Point B and I need

someone to plant me on solid ground for as long as I'm here."

Educators must follow up closely with new students to ease their transition anxieties.

3. "If I've been a good student and suddenly my grades start tumbling and my presence at school is noticeably lax, do some digging – find out what's happening in my young life." Educators must be acutely aware of changes in student dress, attitudes and demeanor and follow up with intensive investigation.
4. "If you know I'm huffing gasoline or can't seem to get enough white-out to fix the mistakes on my paper, don't just remark about it in the lounge. Get me some help." Teachers have an affirmative obligation to monitor signs of drug and or alcohol abuse.
5. "Just because my older brothers and sisters made the transition from junior high to high school with no seeming difficulty, don't assume that I'll do just fine." Counselors should not categorize families but instead focus on individuals.
6. "If all indicators show that I'm in need of special education, help me get there and explain to me how it is not a put-down but a put-up and tell that to my parents, too." When educators refer students for special programs, they must do so with ongoing encouragement and empathy.
7. "If I don't seem to be able to grasp all the intricacies of Newton's Law, don't belittle me. Teach me in the way you know I learn best.

I'm still curious." Educators must take into account individual learning styles in meeting students' needs.

8. "Do things that tell me you care about being in school. Listen to me and my friends." There is no way to underscore the importance of commitment on the part of all who enter the profession of teaching.
9. "If one of my parents just dies and I don't know where I'll be or with whom I'll be in the coming days, give me some space and give me some extra love." Educators must 'be there' for students during difficult times.
10. "If I make a bad mistake and have to go away for a while, don't automatically expect me to make other mistakes when I come back. Expect me to have learned and expect me to do well." Educators must remember their students are only children and all deserve multiple chances to succeed in this world.

Parents. The biggest risk for adult criminal activity is to maintain the status quo with young people who are continually in the juvenile justice system and whose parents are unwilling to learn better parenting skills and refuse counseling services for themselves and their child. As it now stands, all juvenile justice can do is wait for the youth to be adjudicated. Meanwhile, the child is getting better and better at deceiving parents with regard to his criminal activity. Society and those working with juveniles who offend need to look at establishing criteria that involves parents. If they refuse to learn parenting skills and ways to better care for themselves and their children, a different placement for the child is strongly recommended.

Hospital Personnel. Another recommendation for parents is the establishment of a mandated parenting class for first-time parents when a child is born. (One subject in the study suggested parenting classes when two people apply for a marriage license.) Early intervention may include a plan that looks like this: Before any child leaves the hospital, parents will know about well baby care, immunizations, and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome. They will also see a video of the aftermath of shaken baby syndrome. In this plan, at six weeks of age, the child and parents will be scheduled to come to the hospital for a well-family checkup. At this time, the hospital will determine how things are going, provide classes for parents and offer any assistance parents might need. Discussions will include frustrations of new parenting and coping with the extra costs and commitment, and how parents are the most critical linchpins in a child's life. They are the ones who can protect a young child from abuse and establish a curfew for adolescents. Just like the mandatory use of seatbelts, this type of mandatory class could enable a track record to be established. If it can be shown that mandated early parenting saves lives and cuts down on the prison population, the money to run such programs would be more easily appropriated.

Schools and Juvenile Justice. The school needs to work more closely with juvenile justice. If a psychological evaluation were done at intake when children were placed into treatment, then shared with school personnel later, the school could have a better idea of students' needs and what educators' roles should be in working with this child. Currently, the child goes off for treatment and one day comes back again. There is no communication between the treatment facility and the school.

Youth probation officers have extensive caseloads and are overloaded with work. However, this does not negate the value of a coordinated school and juvenile justice plan. The treatment facility should communicate with all three entities – parents, juvenile justice, and the school, as each has a different role, to assure the child has a good start when he or she returns home.

To facilitate communication among the treatment facility, juvenile justice, and the school, an extension of the Child Protection Team to include a representative from the treatment facility may be an inexpensive option. Child Protection Teams usually involve school personnel, counselors, health care workers (including mental health), law enforcement, juvenile probation officers, representatives of the Department of Family Services, and child advocacy agencies. If the treatment facility were not too distant from the returning student's home school, reporting to the various entities at a Child Protection Team meeting would facilitate the communication effort.

Once the school has the documentation that this child's needs are not being served so that he or she can be successful in school, a plan including parents, school, and social services needs to be put in place. Currently, schools are attempting some of these measures, and there are meetings with parents early on. However, the follow-through is lacking due to inadequate staffing and limited resources. Waiting until junior high to get aggressive about juvenile justice issues is too late. The authors of *Early Juvenile Delinquency* (Farrington, Loeber & Petechuk, 2003) concur. It's time to step up to the plate and begin to address these issues in the very early years of a youngster's life.

Students. Young people in the juvenile justice system need to see themselves as successful, productive citizens. This vision needs to be carefully orchestrated and seen by them as a possibility. First, they need to see a place, such as a university, where they might one day be. They need to talk to people in an area that interests them and find out what job possibilities are in that field. They need to touch the buildings, walk in the halls and see themselves there. Once the vision has been inculcated into their very beings, a strong mentoring program needs to be in place so the vision doesn't become yet another program gone awry. This may be one way to help break the generational cycle of behavioral problems that lead to adjudication in the juvenile justice system, followed by adult incarceration.

Pre-service Teachers. Finally, people who will become practitioners of education need to know about the at-risk children in their classroom. If a child has had early access to drugs and alcohol, and a parent who is often the provider, these are extremely important factors for the teacher to know. If a child may have suffered physical and/or mental abuse at the hands of parents or other, the teacher should be informed. The home circumstances for a child who may be living with ten siblings or be living with a grandmother and eight cousins should be communicated to the teacher. This child may be a new student in school for the third time, and the mobility factor must be conveyed to the teacher. These are the early traumas identified by inmates at Montana State Prison. New teachers are typically from upper middle-class families. Their experience with the less fortunate, marginalized part of society, is often inadequate. New teachers need to hear the voices of the disenfranchised before they go out to practice their profession. They need to know

the reporting agencies they can turn to if situations arise they need help with, they need to know the interventions they can provide to address specific needs of students, and they need to know how urgent and important their role truly is.

Specific recommendations for educators further include the following:

1. The school must be an integral player in the recovery process. The child is there for up to eight hours a day and is associating with other students who may be influenced by this student's behaviors. If the school knows what has gone on in the treatment facility, it can better serve the child as well as all the children he or she interacts with at the school. Subjects who spent time in Pine Hills come back to school without any aftercare or communication from the treatment facility with the school. One who was required to report to a probation officer on a monthly basis reported one time and was not reprimanded or reported for violation after subsequent negligent abandonment by the probation officer. Schools need to be on the front line and work with probation and treatment facilities.
2. Educators must be informed before they get out in the field about the children they may have in their classrooms. They need to know what interventions are possible, when to conduct them, and about their urgency. Two subjects relayed their feelings about educators who find themselves too far in the profession, having gone through the endorsement process before finding out there are students they have in their classrooms who are coming from highly dysfunctional homes where student needs preclude any academic endeavors, at least for the present.

3. Training for parents of infant children must be provided. The hospital needs to coordinate a plan with social services for a program for parents so they can know how to care for their new babies and themselves. It is a conundrum why we expect parents to be a veritable encyclopedia of child development issues simply by having a child. Subjects relayed stories of early trauma including beatings, rejection, and parental drug and alcohol abuse. Parents have rights, but they have, first and foremost, responsibilities for the children in their lives.
4. We must provide services for parents of children who stay in the juvenile justice system with 1-11 points. If parents do not get help for themselves and their child, a different educational/living arrangement must be made. Many subjects support the idea of placing young adolescents in a nurturing environment if they are not getting their emotional, physical and mental needs met at home. Several wished they had had that opportunity.
5. We must establish therapeutic group homes to house and care for young juvenile justice probationers whose parents have refused help for themselves or the child in the juvenile justice system. The child could remain in the group home for a period of not less than two years, during which time parents would be mandated to come to the facility to see their child and attend classes. Young probationers are at very high risk to recidivate. Parents are the key to a successful aftercare program, and if they are unwilling to participate, subjects in the study agree parents should give up their parental rights for a period of time.
6. Other social services agencies should work with the directors of Pine Hills and Riverside (facilities for boys and girls in Montana, respectively), to develop a

mentoring program for students who have the potential to become college or vocational school students. Many subjects spent time in special education classes but wished someone had mentored them into a vocational training school. Others who had the ability to attend a college or university agreed it may have broken the family cycle of prison time. Many subjects pointed to cousins, uncles, parent, and grandparents who have been at the Montana State Prison or similar facility. Prison, they agreed, need not be an intergenerational rite of passage. It can be broken.

Recommendations for Future Studies

The current study looks at early trauma, attendance, number of schools attended, teacher attributes and suggestions from the point of view of men at the Montana State Prison. A similar study, but with an additional emphasis on children of inmates, needs to be conducted with the women at the Montana State Prison for Women in Billings. A cursory investigation reveals two major differences. Women in Billings do not tend to have husbands, boyfriends or significant others living in Billings visiting them on Sunday afternoons. However, men at the prison in Deer Lodge had wives and children who relocate to Deer Lodge to be near their loved one. In addition to finding housing and a job, women in Billings have the added responsibility of children to care for who have been living mostly with relatives during their incarceration.

Girls at the juvenile facility in Boulder may have a different view of their problems to date and data should be collected and analyzed to understand their educational views, as well. The researcher in this study has been involved in several

instances where students are put in a lockdown situation, but they all have been young males. Future research should analyze the difference in recidivism between the boys' and girls' groups. Students at the new federal prison for youth at Galen are mostly Native American. The current study includes five Native American men. Subsequent research might examine the difference between Native American men and boys when dealing with incarceration. The results of a mentor program to break the cycle of crime and recidivism deserves consideration, as does the plan to provide parents of newborns education and follow-up programs to effectuate positive parenting skills.

The researcher envisions future studies involving interviews, transcriptions and thematic analysis, along with documentation using a case study application. Finding out information from other penal entities adds to the body of literature that will be required to understand the whole scope of recidivism and prevention of youth crime. The case studies will examine correlated issues. Both types of research require extensive work but together they may make the difference by complimenting one another. The result is that we may one day give hope to many young people, enabling them to become a successful, happy, and well-adjusted adult instead of a discouraged and despondent prison inmate.

Parents, schools, and students cannot be held responsible for the change that needs to come about. There has to be a systemic societal change – a change that looks at every child from infancy on as worthy of every opportunity afforded the most fortunate. Each child must be considered as a precious gift to be handled with great care.

Endnote

The voices heard in this study could be coming from anyone's son, brother, nephew, cousin, grandfather or father. Some spoke with passion, some with a very soft voice. Some had been hurt very badly by those who should have loved them the most. Some remembered someone with great fondness who cared. Some subjects were scholars, and some tossed back the permission form, saying, "That's fine." We had not visited yet, and they didn't know the researcher would have compassion for their inability to read.

The subjects had nothing to gain but knowing they may help someone who, like themselves, has to make some important decisions and choices about which path to take in life. They took a wrong turn yet they want to assure those who come later, a walk straight ahead. They were admirable for their courage in putting aside their troubles to share their thoughts and ideas about how their lessons in life may benefit someone else's.

REFERENCES

- Achenbach, T. M. (1991, 1992). *Manual for the Child Behavior Checklist/2-3 and 1992 Profile*. Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Department of Psychiatry.
- Achenbach, T. & Edelbrock, C. (1983). *Manual for the Child Behaviour Checklist and Revised Child Behaviour Profile*. Burlington, VT, University of Vermont, Department of Psychiatry.
- Adams, C. D. Gaydos, G. R. & Hillman, N. (1994). Behavioral difficulties in toddlers: Impact of sociocultural and biological risk factors. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, 23, 373-381.
- Album, Mitch. (1997). *Tuesdays with Morrie*. New York: Doubleday
- Alexander, J. F. & Parsons, B. V. (1973). Short-term behavioral intervention with delinquent families. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 81(3), 219-225.
- Altschuler, D. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (1994). *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: A Community Care Model*. Summary. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Altschuler, D. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (1996). Aftercare not afterthought: Testing the IAP model. *Juvenile Justice* 3(1), 15-22.
- Altschuler, D. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (2001). Reintegrating high-risk juvenile offenders into communities: Experiences and prospects. *Corrections Management Quarterly*, 5(1), 79-95.

- Anderson, D., Anderson, S. & Schumacker, R. (1988). *Correctional education a way to stay out: Recommendations for Illinois and a report of the Anderson study*. Chicago: Illinois Council on Vocational Education.
- Andrews, D. A., Zinger, I., Hoge, R.D., Bonta, J., Gendreau, P., & Cullen, F. T. (1990). Does correctional treatment work? A clinically relevant and psychologically informed meta-analysis. *Criminology* 28(3), 369-404.
- Aviles v. Bowen, 715 F. Supp. 509 (1989).
- Baker, Myriam, M. Elaine Nugent & Sigmon, Jane N. (2001). Truancy Reduction: Keeping Students in School. *Juvenile Justice Bulletin*. Available: www.ndaa-apri.org/apri/Research_and_Development/Research_and_Development.html.
- Bank, L., Marlowe, J. H., Patterson, G. R., Reid, J. B., & Weinrott, M. R. (1991). A comparative evaluation of parent-training interventions for families of chronic delinquents. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 19(1), 15-33.
- Baum, C. G., & Forehand, R. Long-term follow-up assessment of parent training by use of multiple outcome measures. *Behavior Therapy*, 12, 643-652.
- Beck, A. & Shipley, B. (1989). *Recidivism of prisoners released in 1983*. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice.
- Beck, A. (2000a). Prisoners in 1999. *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin (Bureau of Justice Statistics Publication No. NCJ 183476)*. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Bell, A. J., Dynlacht, D., & Rosen, L. A. (1994). Truancy Intervention. *The Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 57(3), 203-211.

- Bishop, D. (2000). Juvenile offenders in the adult criminal system. In M. Tonry (Ed.) *Crime and Justice*, 27 (pp. 81-167). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bogdan, R. C. & Bilken, S. (1992). *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Braukmann, C. J., Kirigin, K. A.; & Wolf, M. M. (1980). Group home treatment research: social learning and social control perspectives. In T. Hirschi & M. Gottfredson (Eds.), *Understanding Crime: Current Theory and Research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Casey, K., & Keilitz, I. (1990). Estimating the prevalence of learning disabled and mentally retarded juvenile offenders: A meta-analysis. In P.E. Leone (Ed.), *Understanding troubled and troubling youth* (pp. 82-101). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Cedar, B., & Levant, R. F. (1990). A meta-analysis of the effects of parent effectiveness training. *The American Journal of Family Therapy*, 18(4), 373-384.
- Center on Crime, Communities and Culture. (1997). *Education as crime prevention: Providing education to prisoners*. New York: Center on Crime, Communities and Culture.
- Cohen, M. A. (1998). The monetary value of saving a high-risk youth. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 4, 5-33.

- Collier, V. P., & Thomas, W. P. (2001) Educating linguistically and culturally diverse students in correctional settings. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 52(2), 68-73.
- Cottle, C. C., Heilbrun, K., & Lee, R. J. (2001). *The Prediction of Criminal Recidivism in Juveniles*. Philadelphia, PA: MCP Hahnemann University, Department of Clinical and Health Psychology.
- Cowen, E. L., Beach, D. R., Huser, J., & Rappaport, J. (1970). Parental perceptions of young children and their relation to indexes of adjustment. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 34, 97-103.
- Creswell, John W. (1994). *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, John W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research: Choosing Among the Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Curran, J. (1999). *From Juvenile Justice Class During the Colorado School Shooting*.
Available: <http://www.csudh.edu/dearhabermas/jjln08.htm>.
- Dangers of incarcerating youth with adult inmates*. Available:
www.buildingblocksforyouth.org/incarcerating_youth.htm.
- DelliCarpini, M. (2003). *English language instruction for incarcerated youth*. ERIC Digest. ERIC Clearinghouse on Teaching and Teacher Education: Washington, DC (ERIC Reproduction Service No. EDO-LE-03-01).

- Dembo, R., Ramirez-Garnica, G., Rollie, M., & Schmeidler, J. (2000). Impact of a family empowerment intervention on youth recidivism. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 30(3/4), 59-98.
- DeMilio, L. (1989). Psychiatric syndromes in adolescent substance abusers. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 146, 1212-1214.
- DePree, M. (1992). *Leadership Jazz*. New York: Dell Trade Paperback
- Donovan, D. M., & McIntyre, D. (1990). *Healing the hurt child*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- DSM-IV. (1994). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th ed.) Washington, DC: The American Psychiatric Association.
- Earls, F., & Jung, K. G. (1987). Temperament and home environment characteristics as causal factors in the early development of childhood psychopathology. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 26(4), 491-498.
- Egbert, J. L (1989). Prison ESL: Building a foundation for teaching English in unconventional settings. *English for Specific Purposes*, 8(1), 51-64.
- Eisner, E. W. (1991). *The enlightened eye: Qualitative research and the enhancement of educational practice*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Fagan, J. (1996). The comparative advantage of juvenile versus criminal court sanctions on recidivism among adolescent felony offenders. *Law and Policy*, 18, 77-112;

- Farrington, D. P. (1981). *Delinquency from ages 10 to 25*. Paper presented at the Conference on Antecedent Aggression and Antisocial Behavior, sponsored by the Society for Social Life History Research, Monterey, CA.
- Farrington, D. P. (1991). Childhood aggression and adult violence: Early precursors and life outcomes. In D. J. Pepler & K. H. Rubin (Eds.), *Development and treatment of childhood aggression* (pp. 5-29). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Farrington, D. P. (1994). Early Developmental Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 4, 209-227.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (1998). *Crime in the United States 1998*. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (2000). *Crime in the United States 2000*. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- Florida Department of Corrections. (1997-98). *Inmate admissions: Tested literacy skill levels*. Available: http://www.dc.stae.fl.us/pub/annual/9798/stats/ia_lit.html.
- Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. (2002). *Trends in Transfer of Juveniles to Adult Criminal Court*. DJJ Management Report Number 02-03. Available: <http://www.djj.state.fl.us/RnD>.
- GAO Report to the Honorable Nydia Velazquez, House of Representatives. (1997). *Child Protective Services: Complex Challenges Require New Strategies*, 1-48. GAO/HEHS-97-115.

- Gavin, T. (1997). *Truancy: Not Just Kids' Stuff Anymore*. FBI Publication.
Available: <http://www.fbi.gov/publications/leb/1997/mar972.htm>
- Geis, S. (2003). *Aftercare Services*. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Available: <http://www.ncjrs.org/html/ojjdp/201800/contents.html>
- Goldsmith, H. H., Buss, A. H., Chess, S., Plomin, R., & Rothbart, M. K. (1987).
Roundtable: What is temperament? *Child Development*, 58(2), 505-529.
- Goodstein, L., & Sontheimer, H. (1997). The implementation of an intensive
aftercare program for serious juvenile offenders: A case study. *Criminal
Justice and Behavior* (24) 3, 332-359.
- Gootman, M. E. (1996). Child abuse and its implications for early childhood
educators. *Preventing School Failure*, 40(4), 149-154.
- Gordon, T. (1970). *P. E. T.: Parent Effectiveness Training*. New York: Peter H.
Wyden.
- Haapasalo, J., & Tremblay, R. E. (1994). Physically aggressive boys from ages 6 to
12: Family background, parenting behavior, and prediction of delinquency.
Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 62(5), 1044-1052.
- Haigler, K., Campbell, A., Harlow, C., O'Conner, P. (1992). *National adult literacy
survey*. Available: <http://nces.ed.gov/naal/naal92/PrisonSum.html>.
- Hall, D. (1998). Violence begins at home. *British Medical Journal*, 316, 1551-1560.
- Hamparian, D., & Leiber, M. (1997). *Disproportionate confinement of minority
juveniles in secure facilities: 1996 National Report*. Champaign, IL:
Community Research Associates.

- Harden, P. W. & Pihl, R. O. (1995). Boys in Alcoholic Families Differ Cognitively from Peers. *Addiction Letter*, 11(10), 5.
- Hattie, J. (2003). *Teachers Make a Difference: What is the research evidence?* Auckland, Australia: University of Auckland, Australian Council for Educational Research.
- Hawkins, J. D., Brewer, D., Catalano, R. F., Cothorn, L., Farrington, D. P., Harachi, T. W., Herrenkohl, T. I. (2000) *Predictors of Youth Violence*. *Juvenile Justice Bulletin*. Available: www.ncjrs.org/html/ojjdp/jjbul2000_04_5/contents.html.
- Hendricks, C., Hendricks, J., & Kauffman, S. (2002). *Literacy, criminal activity, and recidivism*. Available: http://www.fd.appstate.edu/arfonline/01_arfyearbook/htm.
- Hodges, J., Guiliotti, N., & Porpotage, F. (1994). *Improving literacy skills of juvenile detainees*. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice.
- Holloway, J. & Moke, P. (1986). *Post secondary correctional education: An evaluation of parolee performance*. Wilmington, OH: Wilmington College.
- Hudson River Center for Program Development. (1996). *From incarceration to productive lifestyle: Making the transitions: An instructional guide for incarcerated youth education*. Glenmont, NY: Author.
- Huizinga, D. Loeber, R., & Thornberry, T. (1995). *Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse: Initial Findings*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

- IDEA (1997). *Individuals with disabilities act, 1997*. U. S. Government Printing Office.
- Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative Quarterly*, 24, 602-611.
- Kamradt, B., & Meyers, M. J. (1999). *Curbing violence in juvenile offenders with serious emotional and mental health needs – The effective utilization of wraparound approaches in an American urban setting*. Paper prepared for International Seminar on Violence and Adolescents, November, Milwaukee, WI.
- Katz, M. (1968). *The Irony of Early School Reform*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Keenan, K., & Wakschlag, L. (2000). More than the terrible twos: The nature and severity of behavior problems in clinic-referred preschool children. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 28(1), 33-46.
- Kohn, A. (1999). *The schools our children deserve*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Kucynski, L. & Kuchanska, G. (1990). Development of children's noncompliance strategies from toddlerhood to age 5. *Developmental Psychology*, 26(3), 398-408.
- Lally, J. R., Honig, A. S. & Mangione, P. L. (1988). Long-range impact of an early intervention with low-income children and their families. In D. R. Powell (Ed.), *Parent Education as Early Childhood Intervention* (pp. 79-104), Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

- Laub, J. H., & Sampson, R. J. (1988). Unraveling families and delinquency: A reanalysis of the Gluecks' data. *Criminology*, 26, 355-380.
- Leone, P., Quinn, M. & Osher, D. (2002). *Collaboration in the Juvenile Justice System and Youth Serving Agencies: Improving Prevention, Providing More Efficient Services, and Reducing Recidivism for Youth with Disabilities*. Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice at The American Institutes for Research and The National Center on Education, Disability and Juvenile Justice. [On-line]: <http://www.air.org/cecp> and <http://www.edjj.org>.
- Levant, R. F. (1983). Client-centered skills training programs for the family: A Review of the Literature. *Counseling Psychologist*, 11(3), 29-46.
- Lexcen, F., & Redding, R. E. (1999). *Substance Abuse and Dependence in Juvenile Offenders*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Institute of Law, Psychiatry, and Public Policy.
- Lickona, T. (1993). The return of character education. *Educational Leadership*, 51(3), 6-11.
- Lindgren, H. G. (1996). *Child Abuse: A Painful Secret*. Lincoln, NB: Cooperative Extension, Institute of Agriculture and Natural Resources.
- Lipsey, M. 1992. Juvenile delinquency treatment: A meta-analytic inquiry into the variability of effects. In T. D. Cook, H. Cooper, D. S. Cordray, H. Hartman, L. V. Hedges, R. J. Light, T. A. Louis, & F. Mosteller (Eds.), *Meta-Analysis for Explanation: A Casebook*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Loeber, R. (1982). The stability of anti-social and delinquent and child behavior: A review. *Child Development*, 53(6), 1431-1446.

- Loeber, R. (1988). Natural histories of conduct problems, delinquency, and associated substance use: Evidence for developmental progression. In B. B. Lahey & A. E. Kazdin (Eds.), *Advances in Clinical Child Psychology* (pp. 73-125). New York: Plenum.
- Loeber, R. & Dishion, T. (1983). Early Predictors of Male Delinquency: A Review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 94(1), 68-99.
- Loeber, R., Farrington, D., & Petechuk, D. (2003). Child delinquency: Early intervention and prevention. *Child Delinquency Bulletin Series*, 1, 1-19.
- Loeber, R., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1987). Prediction. In: H.C. Quay (Ed.), *Handbook of Juvenile Delinquency*, pp. 325-382. New York: Wiley.
- McCord, J. (1983). A longitudinal study of aggression and antisocial behavior. In K. T. VanDusen & S. A. Mednick (Eds.), *Prospective Studies of Crime and Delinquency* (pp. 269-275). Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff.
- McGee, R., Silva, P. A. & Williams, S. (1984). Perinatal, neurological, environmental and developmental characteristic of seven-year-old children with stable behavior problems. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 25, 573-586.
- MacKenzie, L. R. (1999). *Residential Placement of Adjudicated Youth, 1987-1996*. Fact Sheet. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- McLaney, M. A., Babor, T. F. & Del Boca, F. K. (1992). *A Validation Study of the Problem Oriented Screening Instrument for Teenagers (POSIT)*. Storrs, CT:

University of Connecticut School of Medicine, Department of Psychiatry,
Alcohol Research Center.

Maguin, E., Abbott, R., Catalano, R. F., Hawkins, J. D., Herrenkohl, T., & Hill, K.
(1995). *Risk factors measured at three ages for violence at age 17-18*. Paper
presented at the American Society of Criminology, November, 1995, Boston,
MA.

Matherne, M. M., & Thomas, A. (2001). Family environment as a predictor of
adolescent delinquency. *Adolescence*, 36, 655-664.

Merriam, S. B. (1988.). *Case study research in education. A qualitative approach*.
San
Francisco: Jonney-Bass Publishers.

Mumola, C. J. (1999). *Substance abuse and treatment, state and federal prisoners,
1997*. In Bureau of Justice Statistics, special report (Bureau of Justice
Statistics Publication No. NCJ 172871). Washington, DC: U. S. Department
of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Mumola, C. J. (2000). *Incarcerated parents and their children*. In Bureau of Justice
Statistics, special report (Bureau of Justice Statistics Publication No. NCJ
182335). Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice
Statistics.

Morash, M. & Rucker, L. (1989). An exploratory study of the connection of mother's
age at childbearing to her children's delinquency in four data sets. *Crime and
Delinquency*, 35, 45-93.

- Myers, D. (2001). *Excluding Violent Youths from Juvenile Court: The Effectiveness of Legislative Waiver*. Levittown, PA: LFB Scholarly Publications LLC
- Nagin, D. S., Farrington, D. P., & Moffitt, T. E. (1995). Life-course trajectories of different types of offenders. *Criminology*, 33(1), 111-139.
- Nagin, D. S., & Land, K. C. (1993). Age, criminal careers, and population heterogeneity: Specification and estimation of a nonparametric, mixed Poisson model. *Criminology*, 31, 327-362.
- Nagin, D. & Waldfogel, J. (1998). The effects of conviction on income through the life cycle. *International Review of Law and Economics*, 18, 25-40.
- Olds, D. L., Chamberlain, R., Henderson, C. R., & Tatelbaum, R. (1986). Preventing child abuse and neglect: A randomized trial of nurse home visitation. *Pediatrics*, 78, 65-78.
- Olson, D., Russell, C. & Sprenkle, D. (1979). Circumplex Model of marital and family systems II: Empirical studies and clinical intervention. In J. Vincent (Ed.), *Advancement in family intervention, assessment, and theory* (pp.128-176). Greenwich, CT: JAI.
- Osher, D., Kendziora, K., Quinn, M. M., & Woodruff, D. (2002). *Addressing invisible barriers: Improving outcomes for youth with disabilities*. Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice at The American Institutes for Research and The National Center on Education, Disability and Juvenile Justice. [Online]: <http://www.air.org/cecp> and <http://www.edjj.org>.

- Patterson, G. R., & Reid, J. B. (1970). Reciprocity and coercion: Two facets of social systems. In C. Neuringer & J. Michael (Eds.), *Behavior modification in clinical psychology*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Patterson, G. R., Bank, L., & Capaldi, D. (1991). An early starter model for predicting delinquency. In D. J. Pepler & K. H. Rubin (Eds.), *Development and treatment of childhood aggression* (pp.139-168). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Patterson, G. R., & Guillion, M. F. (1968). *Living with Children: New Methods for Parents and Teachers*. Champaign, IL: Research Press.
- Pennsylvania Department of Corrections et al., v. Ronald R. Yeskey*, No. 97-634 118 S Ct. 1952 (15 June 1998).
- Phillips, E. L., Fixsen, D. L., Phillips, E. A., & Wolf, M. (1971) Achievement place: modification of the behaviors of pre-delinquent boys within a token economy. *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis*, 4, 45-59.
- Poe-Yamagata, E. & Jones, M. (2000). *And justice for some*. Washington, DC: The National Council on Crime and Delinquency for the Building Blocks for Youth Initiative. Available: <http://www.buildingblocksforyouth.org>
- Porporino, F. & Robinson, D. (1992). The correctional benefits of education: A follow-up of Canadian federal offenders participating in ABE. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 43(2), 92-98.
- Prior, M., Oberklaid, F., Sanson, A., Smart D. (1993). Sex differences in psychological adjustment from infancy to 8 years. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 32(2), 291-308.

- Provence, S., & Naylor, A. (1983). *Working with disadvantaged parents and children: scientific issues and practice*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Rajkumar, A. S. & French, M. T. (1997). Drug abuse, crime costs, and the economic benefits of treatment. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 13(3), 291-324.
- Ramsey, C. (1988). *The value of receiving a general education development certificate while incarcerated in the South Carolina Department of Corrections on the rate of recidivism*. Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Corrections.
- Randolph, M. K. & Gold, C. A. (1994). Child Sexual Abuse Prevention: Evaluation of a Teacher Training Program. *School Psychology Review*, 23(3), 485-495.
- Rouse, G. (1997). *Attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder in juvenile systems: Ramifications and repercussions for children/families*. New York: Appellate Division, First Judicial Department, Supreme Court of the State of New York.
- Rosenbaum, J. L. (1989). Family dysfunction and female delinquency. *Crime and Delinquency*, 35, 31-44.
- Rutherford, R., Anderson, C. W., Bullis, M., & Griller-Clark, H. M. (2002). *Youth with disabilities in the correctional system: Prevalence rates and identification issues*. Center for Effective Collaboration and Practice at The American Institutes for Research and The National Center on Education, Disability and Juvenile Justice. [On-line]: <http://www.air.org/cecp> and <http://www.edjj.org>.
- Samenow, S. (1984). *Inside the Criminal Mind*. New York: Times Books.

- Satchel, R. (2002). *Lost Opportunities: Our children are not rehabilitated when they are treated and incarcerated as adults*. Atlanta, GA: The Southern Center for Human Rights.
- Seidman, I. E. (1991). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and social sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Sergiovanni, T. (1996). *Leadership for the Schoolhouse*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Shaw, C. R. and McKay, H. D. (1942). *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sherman, K. (2002). *Behind bars: An experiment in cross-cultural training*. Available: www.sabes.org/resources/fieldnotes/vol12/f23ksherman.htm
- Sherman, L. W., Gottfredson, D., MacKenzie, D.L., Eck, J., Reuter, P., & Bushway, S., ed. 1997. *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*. Report to the U.S. Congress, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.
- Sigmon, J. N., Engelhardt-Greer, S., & Nugent, M. E. (1999). *Truancy Now Diversion Program: Evaluation Report*. Alexandria, VA: American Prosecutors Research Institute.
- Smith, S. K. (2003). *Mandatory Reporting of Child Abuse and Neglect*. Available: www.smith-lawfirm.com/mandatory_reporting.htm.
- Snyder, H. N. & Sickmund, M. (1999). *Juvenile offenders and victims: 1999 national report*, Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice.

- Snyder, H. N. (1998). Serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders: An assessment of the extent of and trends in officially recognized serious criminal behavior in a delinquent population. In R. Loeber & D. P. Farrington, (Eds.) *Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders: Risk Factors and Successful Interventions* (pp. 428-444). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stack, B. (2001). *Is this justice? Punishment backfires under 'adult time'* (March 20, 2001). Post-Gazette: Pittsburgh, PA. Available: www.post-gazette.com/regionstate/20010320juvrecidivismreg2.asp.
- Stattin, H., & Klackenberglarsson, I. (1993). Early language and intelligence development and their relationship to future criminal behavior. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 102(3), 369-378.
- Steurer, S. (1996). *Correctional education: A worthwhile investment*. Available: <http://novel.nifl.gov/nalld/VOL3NO2.htm>.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990, 1998). Basics of qualitative research: *Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Strom, K., Smith, S., & Snyder, H. (2000). *Juvenile felony defendants in criminal court*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Summaries of Committee Sessions from the Joint ASI/AFI (Assembly on State Issues/Assembly on Federal Issues). (2000). *Nobody's Children: Improving Services and Outcomes for Seriously Troubled Youth*. National Conference of State Legislatures. Available: <http://www.ncsl.org/programs/ASI/nobody.htm>.
- Taulbert, C. (1997). *Eight Habits of the Heart*. New York: Penguin

- Thornberry, T. P., Huizinga, D., Rivera, C., Smith, C. A., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1999). *Family Disruption and Delinquency. Juvenile Justice Bulletin*. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.
- Travis, J., & Petersilia, J. (2001). Re-entry reconsidered: A new look at an old question. *Crime and Delinquency*, 47(3) 291-313.
- Tremblay, R. E., Leblanc, M., Masse, B., & Perron, D. (1992). Early disruptive behavior, poor school achievement, delinquent behavior, and delinquent personality: Longitudinal analyses. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 60(1), 64-72.
- Tyerman, M. J. (1968). *Truancy*. London: University of London Press
- U. S. Department of Labor. (1999). *Employment and Training Administration Pilot and Demonstration Programs*. Available: www.iir.com/nygc/youthGangDoc/8_labor2.htm.
- Walker, H. M., Bricker, D., Bullis, M., Horner, R. H., Kaufman, M. J., Sprague, J. R., & Sugai, G. (1996). Integrated approaches to preventing antisocial behavior patterns among school-age children and youth. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, 4(4), 194-209.
- Walter, H. I. & Gilmore, S. K. (1973). Placebo versus social learning effects in parent training procedures designed to alter the behavior of aggressive boys. *Behavior Therapy*, 4, 361-377.

- Walter, U., & Petr, C. (2000). A template for family-centered interagency collaboration. *The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 81(5), 494-503.
- Washburn, J. (2002). At-risk-youth industry: private companies that run prisons and treatment centers for juveniles have turned out not to be very good at making money or rehabilitating kids. *Atlantic Monthly*, 290(5), 38-40.
- Weinrott, M. R., Jones, R. R., & Howard, J. (1982). Cost-effectiveness of teaching family programs for delinquents: Results of a national evaluation. *Evaluation Review*, 6(2), 173-201.
- Wells, L. E., & Rankin, J. H. (1991). Families and delinquency: A meta-analysis of the impact of broken homes. *Social Problems*, 38, 71-93.
- West, D. J. & Farrington, D. P. (1973). *Who Becomes Delinquent?* London: Heinemann.
- Widom, C. S. (1989). Child abuse, neglect, and adult behavior: Research design and findings on criminality, violence, and child abuse. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 59, 355-367.
- Weibush, R. G., McNulty, B., and Le, T. (1998). *The intensive aftercare program (IAP) demonstration project: Interim implementation assessment*. San Francisco, CA: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.
- Wiltz, N. A. (1969). *Modification of behaviors of deviant boys through parent participation in a group technique*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Oregon.

- Zigler, E., Black, K., & Taussig, C. (1992) Early childhood intervention: A promising preventative for juvenile delinquency. *American Psychologist*, 47 (8), 997-1006.
- Zoccolillo, M. (1992). Co-occurrence of conduct disorder and its adult outcomes with depressive and anxiety disorders: A review. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychopathology*, 5, 79-89.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

Interview Date: _____

Time: _____

Length of Interview _____

Subject Code _____

Appendix B: Standard Interview Introductory Statements

Standard Interview Introductory Statements

The following opening statements will guide each interview.

1. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study. Before we begin I would like to explain the interview process and how our session will unfold.
2. I will be asking a series of general questions and recording them for transcription and analysis. The tapes will be disposed of after the study is completed.
3. At no time will you be referred to by name or by any other description that would allow a reader of this research to identify you in this study. Such confidentiality is a requirement of the Institutional Review Board at The University of Montana.
4. Your name will not be known to anyone except my dissertation chair, Dr. Roberta Evans, and me.
5. Direct quotes will not be name specific and all names used or referred to will be changed to protect each person's privacy and anonymity.
6. There are no expectations as to how you will answer these questions and there are not incorrect answers. The goal of each question is to assist us in understanding the perceptions you have with regard to understanding how young people get involved in criminal activity.
7. Lastly, please remember that you can stop this interview at anytime or take a break whenever you feel the need to do so.

Appendix C: Interview Topics

Interview Topics

1. Tell me about the different schools you attended.
2. Tell me about your attendance at school.
3. Tell me about special education classes you may have been in.
4. Tell me about your teachers.
5. Tell me about suggestions you have for schools to help keep young people from entering the juvenile justice system and moving on to adult incarceration.
6. Tell me about your family.
7. Tell me about the place(s) you grew up.
8. Tell me what brought you here.

Appendix D: Field Journal Page

Field Memo

DATE:

INTERVIEW CROSS REFERENCE

Interview Date _____

Subject Code _____

Interview # _____

Category of Emerging Trend	Reflective Notes

Appendix E: Montana State Prison Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

Title of the Study: Prison Voices: Lessons on Youth Recidivism

Investigator: Shad Bailey
 Doctoral Candidate
 Department of Educational Leadership and Counseling
 The University of Montana
 (406) 243-5586

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Roberta Evans
 (406) 243-2914

Special instructions to the potential subject: This consent form may contain words that are new to you. If you read any words that you don't know, please ask the person who gave you this form to explain them to you.

Purpose: You are being asked to think about what kinds of experiences happened in your school-age years you think may have had an impact on your criminal history. You will be interviewed for about 90 minutes, and you will be asked about your memories of teachers and other school employees. You'll also be asked to think back to the times you were in trouble as a young person and recall what – if anything – your school did or might have done to help you. After talking to several of you, the investigator will see if there are common thoughts among your experiences. That way, your words will be important as we educators try to learn how best to meet kids' needs and prevent others from suffering with the experiences like those you've had in life. If more teachers, principals, and even social workers and law enforcement professionals become aware of what things work and what things don't work in schools, we can spend more time doing the right things for kids who are starting to experience difficulties.

Procedures: If you agree to take part in this research study, you will be given two permission forms to sign. One will be a copy for my records. The other copy is for you. You will be asked to take part in an interview for about ninety minutes. The interview will take place in a room here at the prison.

Risks/Discomforts: I can't imagine any risks associated with your taking part in this study. However, our conversation may bring back memories of an unhappy past, and this may be a sad experience for you. At any time in the interview if you wish to stop, you will be free to do so.

Benefits: Your help with this study may give us a better understanding of youth offenses, relapse and ultimately prison time. We hope that these results will help educators find ways to identify problems before they happen and work with young people, communities, and families to help stop young people from getting in trouble.

Confidentiality: Everything you share will be kept secret. Your records will be kept private and will not be given to anyone without your permission. Only my professor and I will have access to the files. Your identity will be kept secret, and you will be identified by a number as we tally up the information. If the results of this study are written in a book or magazine or presented at an educational meeting, your name will not be used. The data will be stored in a locked file cabinet. Your signed permission form will be stored in a cabinet separate from the data. The audiotape will be transcribed without any information that could identify you. The tape will then be erased. We will not share what you say with prison officials.

Compensation for injury: Although we do not see any risk in taking part in this study, the following liability statement is required in all University of Montana consent forms: "In the event that you are injured as a result of this research, you should individually seek appropriate medical treatment. If the injury is caused by the negligence of the University or any of its employees, you may be entitled to reimbursement or compensation pursuant to the Comprehensive State Insurance Plan established by the Department of Administration under the authority of M.C.A., Title 2, Chapter 9. In the event of a claim for such injury, further information may be obtained from the University's Claims representative or University Legal Counsel.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal: Your decision to take part in this research study or to take part in the research yourself is entirely up to you. You may stop at any time without penalty.

Questions: If you have any questions about the research now or during the study, contact Shad Bailey at (406) 243-5586.

Subject's Statement of Consent: I have read the above description of this research study. I have been told of the risks and benefits involved, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Furthermore, I know that any future questions I may have will also be answered by a member of the research team. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. I understand that my words may be used in books or magazines but would appear without anyone knowing my name. I understand that I will receive a copy of this consent form

Name of Subject: _____

Subject's Signature _____ Date: _____